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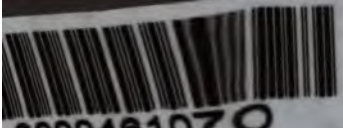
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THE
COLLIERS' STRIKE
IN
SOUTH WALES.

DALZIEL



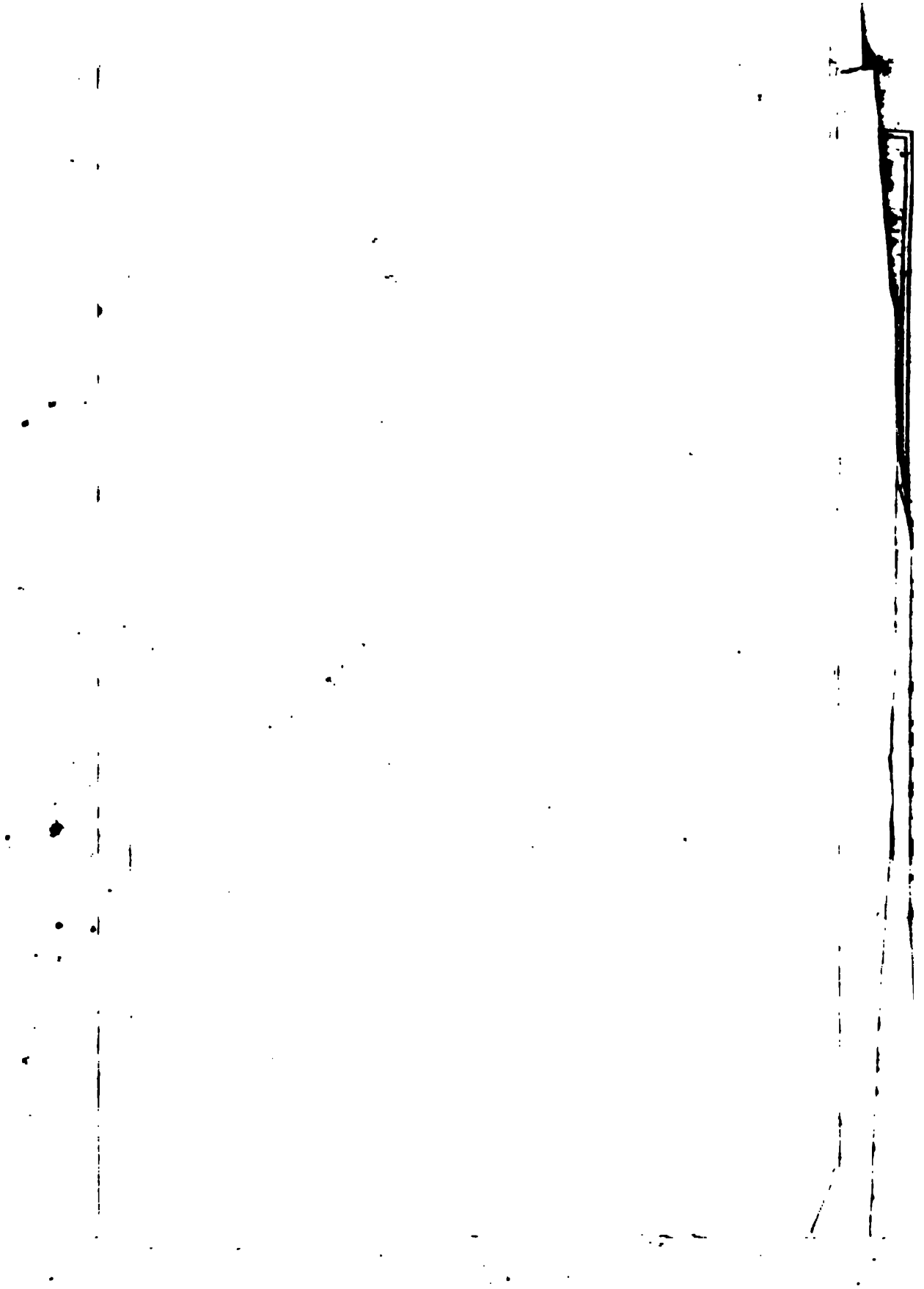
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THE
COLLIERS' STRIKE
IN
SOUTH WALES:

ITS CAUSE, PROGRESS, AND SETTLEMENT.

BY
ALEXANDER DALZIEL,
SECRETARY OF THE SOUTH WALES STEAM COAL
COLLIERIES' ASSOCIATION, CARDIFF.

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PREFACE.

THE incidents which arose out of the strike of 1871 amongst the Colliers of Aberdare and Rhondda, have an important bearing upon the question of the future supply of labour in Wales. It is the especial object of this work, that the experience gained in that strike, may be recorded for the guidance of those who may have the direction of affairs, should, unhappily, a strike again occur in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys.

The circumstances of each strike no doubt differ widely, but it is of utility that these circumstances—their bearing and effect—should be saved from the lapse of memory.

It is no part of the intention to inflict upon the reader a dry treatise on the relationship of capital and labour, nor even a history of the Coal Trade in South Wales. The work is neither more nor less than what it pretends to be—an account of the strike; and where reference is made to prior events, it is only that the ulterior effect may be the more correctly understood.

It would be comparatively easy to state in a few sentences the superficial reasons which caused the late “Colliers’ Strike” in South Wales, its progress, and the present position of labour as affected by its settlement under arbitration; but it is desirable to examine minutely the motives which actuated relatively the employers and the employed, step by step.

“NOTHING EXTENUATE, NOR SET DOWN AUGHT IN MALICE.”

For much of the statistical, and other information, the writer is indebted to the Members of the Association, and he takes the present opportunity of expressing his obligations for the unvarying courtesy and many kindnesses they have shewn him.

ALEX. DALZIEL.

Cardiff, June 15th, 1872.

THE COLLIERS' STRIKE IN SOUTH WALES, 1871.

CHAPTER I.

THE Iron Masters of Merthyr and the surrounding district being a compact and wealthy body, and employers of large numbers of workmen engaged in the getting of coal and making of iron, have invariably swayed the wage rate paid in the coal-producing districts of the Merthyr, Aberdare, and Rhondda Valleys.

A glance at the following table will shew that the fluctuations have not been of an extreme character, but such as might reasonably have been expected from the various exigencies of trade, and it would appear that the condition of the men has not improved to any material extent during the past ten years.

Statement shewing the per-centage of each Rise and Fall in Wages paid for Cutting Steam Coal at the Iron Masters' pits, during the last ten years.

	Dowlais.		Cyfarthfa.		Abernant.		Rhymney.		Sirhowy.		Tredegar.	
	Rise.	Fall.	Rise.	Fall.	Rise.	Fall.	Rise.	Fall.	Rise.	Fall.	Rise.	Fall.
1861. May.	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...
June.	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1863. Oct.	...	...	10	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nov.	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	10	...
Dec.	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...
1864. Feb.	...	...	10	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
March	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	10	...
April	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...
1865. Jan.	...	10	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Feb.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...
March	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	10
1867. March	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	10
1868. Jan.	...	15	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...
Feb.	...	...	...	...	...	15	15	...	...	...	...	10
1870. Feb.	...	...	10	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...
March	10	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	10	...	10	...
1871. March	...	5	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	5
April	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
May	...	...	5	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
June	5	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	5	...	5	...
1872. March	10	...	10	...	10	...	10	...	10	...	10	...
June	10	...	10	...	10	...	10	...	10	...	10	...
	55	35	55	30	45	20	55	30	55	35	55	35

The next two statements are interesting. They shew the progress of wages at one of the oldest pits in the Aberdare Valley, and they may be taken as fair exponents of the general state of wages over the extended period of 23 years, at the majority of the pits in that Valley.

Statement shewing the percentages of each rise and fall in Wages, and the cutting prices of Coal, at one of the oldest of the Aberdare Valley Collieries, during the past 23 years.

Previous to	Percentage of each.		Cutting prices per Ton for the various Seams.			
	Rise.	Fall.	4 Feet.	6 Feet.	9 Feet.	
1848. March	...	...	1.. 6	...	...	Panic, 1847.
" " 4	...	10	1.. 4	...	...	
1849. Aug. 4	10	...	1.. 6	...	...	
1850. Feb. 2	...	10	1.. 4	...	1.. 1	
1852. Feb. 28	...	5	1.. 3	...	1.. 2	
1853. March 1	10	...	1.. 5	...	1.. 4	} Crimean War—improvement in trade.
" April 1	5	...	1.. 6	...	1.. 5	
" May 1	5	...	1.. 7	...	1.. 6	
" July 1	10	...	1.. 9	2.. 2	1.. 9	
1857. Dec. 1	...	20	1.. 5	1.. 9	1.. 5	} Depression, 1857. Panic—Strike. depression till 1863.
1863. Nov. 1	5	...	1.. 6	1..10	1.. 6	
1864. March 1	10	...	1.. 8	2.. 1	1.. 8	} American War—good trade.
1868. Feb. 1	...	15	1.. 5	1.. 9	1.. 5	
1869. Nov.	...	...	...	...	1.. 8	1868. Panic—depression.
1870. May 1	10	...	1.. 7	1..11	1..10	} 1870. Improvement before German-French War, then depression continued till 1871. Strike.—Arbitration.
*1871. April 1	...	5	1.. 6	1..10	1.. 9	
*1871. Aug. 22	2½	...	1.. 6½	1..10½	1.. 9½	
*1872. Feb. 1	10	...	1.. 8½	2.. 0	1..11¼	
* " June 3	10	...	1..10½	2.. 3	2.. 2	
	87½	65				

The "9 feet" is a thick seam, and (like the "4 feet"), being worked on the pillar and stall system, the price for cutting it was a shade less than the 4 feet. In 1853 they were equalized, but when, in 1867, the long-wall system was introduced, its application was not found to prove favourable in the 9 feet vein. There was a difficulty in retaining labour at equal rates. Hence the disparity. From the fact of the percentage of advance and reduction not being *equally* applied to all classes of workmen,

it will be correctly surmised that, concessions were made in certain cases which were with-held in others. Thus, door-boys have advanced 100%; surface labourers, 30%; underground labourers, 50%; hauliers, 30%; colliers, for day labour, 20%; whilst *cutting* has advanced only 22½%. There is this to be said about cutting, that the men have the opportunity of getting as much coal as they please, and thereby increasing their pay, but the others have not—their pay being regular, and irrespective of the quantity produced, or work done.

Statement shewing the fluctuations in Wages for Day Labour at Aberdare Pits during the past 23 years.

	Colliers.	Hauliers.	Door Boys.	Surface Labourers.	Underground Labourers.
Previous to					
1848. March	3.. 0	3.. 0	7d.	2.. 6	...
1848. March 4 ...	3.. 0	2.. 8	6d.	2.. 4	2.. 0
1849. August 4...	2.. 8	2.. 8	6d.	2.. 6	2.. 4
September.	3.. 0	...	...	...	...
1850. Feb. 2 ...	3.. 0	2.. 8	6d.	2.. 6	2.. 0
1852. Feb. 28 ...	3.. 0	2.. 8 2..6	6d. and 8d.	2.. 4	2.. 0 2..2 2..4
1853. March 1 ...	3.. 4	2.. 9 2..11	7½d.	2.. 6	2.. 6 2..7 2..8
April 1.....	3.. 0	3.. 0	7½d.	2.. 6 & 2..8	2.. 7
May 1.....	3.. 0	3.. 0 3..2	7½d.	2.. 7 2..8	2.. 7
1856. July 1.....	3.. 4	3.. 4	8d.	2..10 2..8	2.. 9
1857. April	...	...	10d.	2.. 9	...
December 1	3.. 0	3.. 0	9d. and 10d.	2.. 8 2..4	2.. 6
1859. July	...	3.. 2	...	...	...
1863. March	...	...	1..0	...	...
Nov. 1.....	3.. 2	3.. 4	1..1	2.. 9 2.. 5	2.. 8
1864. March 1 ...	3.. 4	3.. 7	1..2	3.. 0 2.. 8	2..10
1868. February 1	3.. 2	3.. 4	1..1	2.. 8 2.. 4	2.. 8
1870. May 1.....	3.. 4	3.. 8	1..4	2..11 2..10	2..10
*1871. April 1.....	3.. 2	3.. 6	1..3	2.. 9 2.. 8	2.. 8
* August 22	3.. 3	3.. 7	1..3½	2..10 2.. 9	2.. 9
*1872. February 1	3.. 7	3..11	1..5	3.. 1 3.. 0	3.. 0
* June 3.....	3..11	4.. 4	1..6½	3.. 4½ 3.. 3½	3.. 3½

* These changes were effected by deducting from, and adding to, the total amount of pay tickets, a certain per centage, *without altering the old rates of pay.*

During the Crimean War, the coal trade was unusually prosperous, but soon after its close in 1856, prices fell, and for several years the trade was in a deplorable state. In 1857, the coal owners resolved to reduce wages, so as to enable them to sell their produce, and keep their workmen fully employed. Notice was given for a reduction of 15%; *i.e.*, from 1s. 9d. per ton to 1s. 6d. Between 4,000 and 5,000 men, who were producing about 700,000 Tons per annum, struck work, and remained out for six weeks, when the Masters intimated that in consequence of the further loss of capital, the reduction must be 20%. The men remained out another week, then submitted, and the pits resumed work at 1s. 5d. per ton cutting price, being 20% reduction. Prices further declined. Trade did not recover for about four years. The depression was intense. For several years the owners were selling coal for what it cost, and in many cases for less; this had the effect of making several properties change hands.

On the 18th of May, 1864, the door boys employed at Abercwmboy Pit, in the Aberdare Valley, struck for an advance of wages. Messrs. D. Davis & Sons, the owners, acting in accordance with the resolutions of the Masters, refused an advance, and endeavoured to arrange with the colliers, for the latter to perform the door service, at the ordinary rate of pay given to colliers for "daily labour." The men refused, alleging that none knew the duties so well as the boys, and that it would be unsafe to work the pit unless the boys were replaced. The pit was laid idle, and remained so, till the 16th of July, 1864, a

period of nine weeks. A compromise was effected, and work resumed.

The boys had been receiving 7s. per week for door service, but they requested, and struck for, 8s., because in some of the pits this rate was being paid. This was true, so far as the *lower* part of the Valley was concerned, but not so, with regard to the *upper*, in which part they were only being paid 5s. to 7s. because of their nearness to the iron works, where labour was got at lower rates. Eventually it was agreed to strike an average of the whole, and then to pay the Abercwmboy lads fully up to that average. The following particulars were then obtained :

Number of Door Boys employed at the majority of the Pits in the Aberdare Valley, May, 1864.

	PIT.		BOYS.		PER WEEK.
<i>Upper.</i>	Hirwain	...	10	...	5..0
	do.	...	4	...	3..6
	Ysguborwen	...	2	...	8..0
	do.	...	14	...	7..0
	do.	...	6	...	6..6
	Cwmbach	...	20	...	7..0
	Blaengwawr	...	26	...	7..0
	Nantmelyn	...	12	...	7..6
	Merthyr Dare	...	11	...	7..6
	Bwllfa	...	21	...	7..6
	Werfa	...	20	...	7..0
<i>Middle.</i>	Fforchaman & Cwmneol	...	32	...	8..0
	Cwmaman	...	20	...	8..0
	Ynyscynon	...	10	...	7..6
	Old Duffryn	...	48	...	7..6
	Upper do.	...			
	Abergwawr	...			
	Cwmdare	...	33	...	7..6
<i>Lower.</i>	Llettyshenkin	...	92	...	8..6
	Lower Duffryn	...	57	...	8..6
	Middle do.	...			
	Deep do.	...			
	Navigation	...	438		

Total earnings, £168 14s. 0d.—average 7s. 8¹⁰/₁₃d. per week.

The Abercwmboy lads then received 7s. 9d., being an advance of 9d. per week as against their original demand of 1s.

For so small a matter, it seems strange that 400 men should cast themselves out of work for 9 weeks, and that the masters should incur the expense and loss of profit entailed by the stoppage, but when it is considered that the demand by the boys was known to be but the precursor to a series of demands on the part of the men (the proof of which was a general stoppage of 400 men for the sake of ten or twenty boys); the masters were justified in resisting "the thin end of the wedge." The workmen felt that the masters were determined to hold them in check, and in consequence, no isolated strikes have occurred since.

In accordance with the rules of the Association. Messrs. Davis made their claim for "expenses incurred, and loss of profit which they *would have derived* from the coal, had it been produced and sold—partly under existing contracts, and partly at the ordinary market prices." On behalf of the Association it was argued, that inasmuch as the coal was *not* produced, and was yet in the ground for *future* working, the profits were only *deferred*, and therefore, that the Association should only pay the *present* value of such "deferred profits."

Mr. Dobson, to whom had been left the adjustment of the claim, awarded £4,700 in full.

Fully 12 or 18 months elapsed before Messrs. Davis & Son obtained a final settlement. This is mentioned to shew that although the Association kept faith within its ranks, there was a danger to be avoided in future, of trusting to such combinations

without there being clearly defined rules as to what was meant by "expenses incurred and loss of profit," and, when ascertained, how they were to be paid. The total cost of this strike, when borne by the several members of the Association, only amounted to $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per ton on 1,623,571 tons, the total production of the year 1863.*

On the 17th January, 1865, a strike took place for a few days at the United Merthyr Company's Fforchaman pit. The men refused to go down, alleging that the rope was a bad one. The Association offered to support the Company, provided evidence were forthcoming that the rope was not defective, and they ordered that the ringleaders should be at once prosecuted. The evidence was not forthcoming, and the ringleaders were NOT prosecuted. A new rope was ordered, and the men went to work. The company, when demanding the aid of the Association, had not taken sufficient care to put themselves in a right position.

* Whilst these pages are being written, the men are again putting forward the "irrepressible door boy," to make fresh demands. According to established custom, the manager of a pit can take boys from the "face of coal," and put them to "door boy" work, at "door boy" price, plus 1d. per day for the transfer—thus the "door boy" price at Lower and Middle Duffryn is 1s. 5d. per day, and if, for temporary purposes, boys are taken from the face to do this work, they receive 1s. 6d. per day. For 1 day at Lower Duffryn, and 2½ days at Middle Duffryn, the pits were laid idle, because the men refused to go in unless 3 boys each received 2s. per day, that being the value which the men put on the labour of these boys. An arrangement had lately been come to that no boys under 14 should go to the "face," but that, up to that age, they should be at command for door boy work, at door boy price. The men resumed work, and the question was ultimately left to a joint committee of masters and men for adjustment—the impression being that a scale of wages for these boys would be the most equitable plan.

CHAPTER II.

SETTING aside the clearly defined periods at which the Ironmasters and the Colliery Proprietors raised and lowered wages *equally*, there have been, unfortunately for the coal trade, numberless instances in which the latter introduced into their pay sheets, items of cost never before recognized by the Ironmasters; which items gradually raised the cost of the production of coal in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys, far in excess of that incurred by the Ironmasters. That it may be urged against the Colliery Proprietors, that these unfavourable changes were of their own creating, is perhaps true, but that they should have subsequently desired to remove the disparities is not surprising, more especially when it is considered that the influences under which they were created had passed away. What were those influences?

At the time whence we date public recognition of the hitherto unknown excellencies of the Welsh Smokeless Steam Coal, now some forty years ago, the entire population of the Aberdare Valley, including even the town of Aberdare, did not exceed 6000, the most of whom obtained their livelihood by agriculture and iron making. At the present time the population is probably over 40,000, all more or less dependent upon the production of coal and manufacture of iron,

This great increase is attributable solely to the development of mines. Taking as our authority the parish returns for the assessment of the poor's rates in Aberdare and Llanwunno, the production of coal was during the years

1844	...	...	...	71,031 tons.
1856	...	...	...	1,173,459 „
1870	...	...	...	2,342,792 „

To produce all this coal, it is evident that the normal population was utterly inadequate, and therefore, capitalists in order to develop their properties, found it necessary to attract workmen from other districts; but, for the accomplishment of this design, they were obliged to offer inducements in the shape of higher wages than were then current in the neighbouring districts of Merthyr, although the description of work and the seams in which that work was to be done, were identical in every respect.

One reason which materially affected the higher rates of wages paid, was the inadequate number of dwelling places, causing the workmen to walk, morning and night, to and from the pits, several miles. This, with the distance of meat and vegetable markets from the houses of others who resided near mines in out-of-the-way places, was alleged by the workmen as a cause of extra expense, and therefore a justification for the higher rates of wages. The Owners of every new colliery acting upon this principle of offering inducements to obtain labour, several anomalies in the rates of wages were created, and they have not been since reconciled.

It is the general belief, that the difference between the scales of wages current at the pits belonging to the ironmasters in the Merthyr district, and at the pits belonging to the colliery owners of the Aberdare Valley, amounts to about 15%. At a later stage this will be more particularly dwelt upon. It is sufficient for the purpose, at this point, to have stated in a cursory manner, the primary cause for the differences in the *Aberdare Valley*.

Next we speak of the *Rhondda Valley*, where a process of the like nature took place. The American war gave a great stimulus to mining enterprise, and capitalists directed their attention to the minerals underlying that beautiful valley.

On reference to the returns for the assessment of the poor's rates in the parishes of Llantwit Vadre, Llantrissant, and Ystradyfodwg, it will be found that the entire production of coal was in the years

1856	...	...	...	205,200 tons.
1870	...	...	...	1,858,826 "

The difficulty of obtaining labour in the *Rhondda* was fully as great as that experienced in the development of the *Aberdare Valley*, and it became necessary, on the part of the employers, to establish even higher rates of wages than were current at *Aberdare*. Ensuing from this, a distinction as between the payments in the *Aberdare* and the *Rhondda Valley* pits was caused, to the extent of about 10%, and as between the *Rhondda* and the Ironmasters' pits at *Merthyr*, of about 25%.

As it was in the Aberdare, so in the Rhondda—it came about, that in later times the employers erected ample dwelling accommodation—villages sprang up—markets were established, and all the advantages, including regularity of employment, which workmen were supposed to possess at the pits belonging to the ironmasters, were really obtained by the workmen in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys. Therefore, according to the laws of political economy, it might fairly be supposed, that a general equalization of wages would gradually have taken place; but this did not occur. The race for labour in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys continued; emigration removed rapidly the surplus population; new pits continued to be opened, until the production of coal not only overtook, but gradually exceeded the demand. The call for labour had been so regular, that no one had the inclination to attempt an adjustment, or equalization of rates of wages. The general overtrading of the country resulted in a monetary crash, and a season of depression set in.

We now arrive at a period when a serious complication arose in the mining commercial interests. With the iron, as with the coal trade, the time of depression meant loss—continuance meant disaster.

The ironmasters having the command of an enormous supply of labour at the lower scale of wages, and possessing large mineral properties fully developed, found that the production and sale of steam coal would considerably ameliorate their monetary position. They cast into the markets increased quantities of coal. For the first time, the proprietors of the Aberdare and Rhondda pits found

real and formidable competitors in the ironmasters, who, by reason of lower royalties and the lower rates of wages, were able to produce coal at a cheaper rate, and thereby undersell, which they did to a serious extent. It is true that this competition had existed for several years, but not to such an extent as to seriously affect the coal owners, until within the last four or five years ; that is, when the depression in the iron trade, subsequent to the American war, had set in. The Merthyr ironmasters "exported" in

1865	...	...	...	166,399 tons of coal.
1871	...	...	...	349,968 ,,

In like manner the ironmasters of Monmouthshire increased *their* export of coal. The effect on the steam coal trade can be imagined.

CHAPTER III.

At the end of 1870, the ironmasters and the colliery proprietors of Monmouth, and Glamorgan, finding the markets still continuing to be depressed, cast about them for a remedy, and finding it necessary to make a general reduction in wages, took conjoint action towards that end.

On the 1st March, 1871, notice was given for a reduction of wages, in the following terms:—

*"To the COLLIERS, WORKMEN, and OTHERS, employed at
the Colliery, situate in the parish of
in the County of Glamorgan (or
Monmouthshire).*

*"We, do hereby give you, and
each of you, Notice that we intend to terminate, and put an
end to the several Contracts now subsisting between us, for
working the Coal and Minerals in and from the above Colliery,
or in relation thereto, on the 31st day of March, 1871, from
which day such Contracts will end accordingly.*

"Dated this 27th day of February, 1871.

"(Signed,)"

It had not been officially stated to the workmen, at the time of giving notice, what the reduction would be, but there was a clear and distinct understanding between the iron and coal masters that the reduction should be uniformly 10%, and this was currently known to the workmen. It subsequently transpired, that either there was no intention to make a general resistance, or, that the strength of the employers was considered too great, to justify the workmen in repeating their experiment of an "*isolated strike*," such as was made at the Abercwmboy pit, in May, 1864. The submission was general, but the action of the ironmasters was not as firm as that which should have characterized the conduct of employers of 20,000 workmen.

During the month of March, the late Mr. Crawshay Bailey, at Nantyglo and Blaina, followed by Mr. Darby, at Abersychan, led the way in a course, the primary result of which was an exposure of internal dis-unity between the ironmasters and the coal trade, and ultimately brought about that array of strength of which these pages are the recital. Mr. Bailey and Mr. Darby informed their workmen that the reduction in wages would be *five* per cent. It could not be expected after the Nantyglo and Ebbw Vale companies having so compromised themselves and others, that the Dowlais, Cyfarthfa, and Plymouth masters could avoid following their example. Being left in the lurch, the colliery proprietors were obliged to be content with a similar reduction of 5%, and a new scale of wages, at the lower rate, came into operation on the 1st April, 1871.

It should have been stated that, on the 25th of February, when the steam coal owners resolved to reduce wages, they, at the same time, appointed a committee "to obtain reliable information with reference to the existing discrepancies between the rates paid for labour at the steam coal collieries in the Merthyr, Aberdare, and Rhondda districts, and, that they report to a general meeting of the trade, to be held at the Royal Hotel, Cardiff, on Saturday, the 25th March next, at 12.30 o'clock." This duty was carefully performed.

"CARDIFF, 21st March, 1871.

"The Committee acting on the resolution passed at the meeting held at the Mount Stuart Hotel, Cardiff, on Saturday, the 25th February, 1871, have given their careful consideration to

'The discrepancies existing between the rates paid for labour at the collieries belonging to the ironmasters in the Merthyr Valley, and at the collieries belonging to the coal masters in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys.'

"The Committee have now the pleasure to present their Report, in which they have endeavoured to condense and generalize the results of a mass of information, on statements appended hereto. *See Appendices 1 to 3.*

"To aid our deliberations, we called in the assistance of the principal colliery managers of the district, and the following conclusions are the result of our discussions :—

“Two feet nine Seam.—The 2ft. 9in. Seam is cut at Plymouth and Cyfarthfa, where it is 3½ft. thick, at 1s. 11½d. per ton, including the making of head room in the roadways. In Cwmdare, in Aberdare Valley, where this seam is extensively worked, the cutting price is 2s. 7½d. for a thickness of 2ft. 5in., but on consideration of the difference in thickness, and the top and bottom being harder in the latter, there is no appreciable difference in the work between the Merthyr and Aberdare Valleys. In Rhondda Valley this seam varies in thickness, and as between the Merthyr price and the price paid at the lower part of the Rhondda Valley, there is a difference of 6d. per ton against Rhondda. *See Appendix No. 1.*

“Four Feet Seam.—There is a difference in the cutting price of the four feet seam in Aberdare and Rhondda, as compared with the iron works, of 4d. per ton in favour of the iron works. *See Appendix No. 1.*

“Six Feet Seam.—After full consideration being given to the various conditions in which the six feet seam is found, there is a difference in the cutting price of 2d. per ton in favour of the iron works. *See Appendix No. 1.*

“Nine Feet Seam.—The same remark will apply to the nine feet seam.—*See Appendix No. 1.*

“Other Seams.—The other seams worked at the iron works are not extensively worked at any of the collieries, and, therefore, we have not been able to make any comparison, *See Appendix No. 1.*

"It must, however, be understood that the above figures do not represent the actual differences between the rates paid at the different districts, because work is included in the cutting price at the iron works which is paid for as "allowance" in many of the Aberdare and Rhondda collieries, but in Rhondda much more so than in Aberdare.

"*General Labour.*—In addition to the cutting, the difference in the rates paid for general labour between Aberdare and the iron works would appear to amount to from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 per cent. Rhondda is about 5 per cent. above Aberdare. *See Appendix No. 2.*

"*Timbering and Cogging.*—The difference in the rates paid for timbering and cogging, between the iron works and all the collieries, is very great indeed, amounting in the average to nearly 50 per cent. *See Appendix No. 2.*

APPENDIX No. 1.

INFORMATION RELATING TO THE CUTTING OF COAL—FEBRUARY, 1871.

	Thickness of Seam.	PRICES PAID.			REMARKS.
		Merthyr Valley.	Aberdare Valley.	Rhondda Valley.	
2 ft. 9 in. SEAM.	Ft. to Ft.				
Cyfarthfa	3 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.			
Plymouth	3 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.			
Lower Duffryn	3 6		2s. 8d.		
Abernant	3 9		2s. 3d.		
Cwmbach	2 8		3s. 10d.		
Bwllfa	2 5		2s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.		Driver 2s 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Nantmelyn	2 5		2s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.		
Cwm Dare	2 9		2s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.		
Tyla Coch	3 6		2s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.		
Rhondda Merthyr	3 6			2s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	
Bute Merthyr	2 6			2s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. less 5 $\frac{1}{2}$;	
Dunraven	2 7			2s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. less 5 $\frac{1}{2}$;	
Pentre	4 2			2s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. roads incl.	Height from sleepers, 5ft. 6in.
				2s. 5d. less 5 $\frac{1}{2}$;	
Upper 4 Feet.					
Dowlais and)	2 9 3 6	1s. 4d. 2-10ths.			And allowance for inconvenience as to houses, Vochrhiw 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ screens.
Penydarren, Cwmbargued)		1s. 2d.			Fit works and sale. 5ft. 6in. (thick, all coal alike.
Cyfarthfa	3 9 5 6	(1s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. face, 1s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. back			
Plymouth	3 9	1s. 1d. 7-10ths used			
	5 6	1s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. sale			
	3 9	1s. 4d. used			
Rhymney	3 8	(1s. 5d., 1s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., 1s. 8d., 1s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.)			
		1s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. less 5 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Navigation	5 4 6 0		1s. 7d.		
Deep Duffryn	do.		1s. 7d.		
Lower do.	5 6		1s. 7d.		
Middle do.	do.		1s. 7d.		
Lletty Shenkin	4 10		1s. 7d.		
Abernant	5 6		1s. 8d.	1s. 6d.	
Cwmbach	5 4		1s. 7d.		
Sguborwen	3 6		1s. 9d.		
Bwllfa	3 10		1s. 7d.		
Nantmelyn	3 10		2s. 6d.	3s. 4d.	Driver, 2ft. 4in.
Gadlys	3 10 and 5 0		1s. 7d.		
Cwmaman	5 6		1s. 7d.		
Fforchaman	5 4		1s. 7d.		
Cwmeol	5 6		1s. 7d.		
Aberaman	5 10		1s. 7d.		
Abercwmboy	6 6		1s. 7d.		
Werfa	3 10 4 0		1s. 7d.	1s. 9d.	
Malndy	5 3			2s. 5d.	[1yd. roof.
Park	4 8			2s. 6d.	Including coggling and cutting
Bute Merthyr	4 0			1s. 8d. less 5 $\frac{1}{2}$;	Do. do.
Dunraven	3 9			1s. 7d.	
Rhondda Merthyr	4 3			1s. 7d.	
Ynyfaio	4 3			1s. 9d. less 5 $\frac{1}{2}$;	
Ferndale	5 0			1s. 9d.	
6 Feet.					
Dowlais and)	4 0	1s. 4d. 2-10ths			Vochrhiw, Screen 1 $\frac{1}{2}$.
Penydarren, Cwmbargued)		1s. 7d.			
Cyfarthfa	3 8 3 10	1s. 7d. sale			1d. per ton less when used.
Plymouth	3 8 3 10	1s. 7d. and 1s. 9d. less 5 per cent.			
Rhymney					
Lower Duffryn	3 6		2s. thick clod.		
Middle do.	3 6		1s. 11d.		
Upper do.	3 7		2s. 2d.		
Old do.	4 0		2s. 2d.		
Lletty Shenkin	3 8		1s. 11d.		
Abernant	3 10		1s. 8d. 1s. 11d.		
Cwmbach	3 10		1s. 11d.		

UTTING COAL FEBRUARY, 1871

ABERDARE VALLEY.

WMBACH.

9 and 4-ft;
6d. 6-feet;
3 2-ft 9-in.;
3 7-ft.

1/9, 3/

MERTHYR

ABERDARE
VALLEYS.

FEB., 1871.

NOTES PAID FOR LABOR OTHER THAN

MONTHLY SUMMARY				TOTAL	
DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	REMARKS	PAID	BALANCE
1911	...	...	...	...	...
1912	...	...	...	...	...
1913	...	...	...	...	...
1914	...	...	...	...	...
1915	...	...	...	...	...
1916	...	...	...	...	...
1917	...	...	...	...	...
1918	...	...	...	...	...
1919	...	...	...	...	...
1920	...	...	...	...	...
1921	...	...	...	...	...
1922	...	...	...	...	...
1923	...	...	...	...	...
1924	...	...	...	...	...
1925	...	...	...	...	...
1926	...	...	...	...	...
1927	...	...	...	...	...
1928	...	...	...	...	...
1929	...	...	...	...	...
1930	...	...	...	...	...
1931	...	...	...	...	...
1932	...	...	...	...	...
1933	...	...	...	...	...
1934	...	...	...	...	...
1935	...	...	...	...	...
1936	...	...	...	...	...
1937	...	...	...	...	...
1938	...	...	...	...	...
1939	...	...	...	...	...
1940	...	...	...	...	...
1941	...	...	...	...	...
1942	...	...	...	...	...
1943	...	...	...	...	...
1944	...	...	...	...	...
1945	...	...	...	...	...
1946	...	...	...	...	...
1947	...	...	...	...	...
1948	...	...	...	...	...
1949	...	...	...	...	...
1950	...	...	...	...	...
1951	...	...	...	...	...
1952	...	...	...	...	...
1953	...	...	...	...	...
1954	...	...	...	...	...
1955	...	...	...	...	...
1956	...	...	...	...	...
1957	...	...	...	...	...
1958	...	...	...	...	...
1959	...	...	...	...	...
1960	...	...	...	...	...
1961	...	...	...	...	...
1962	...	...	...	...	...
1963	...	...	...	...	...
1964	...	...	...	...	...
1965	...	...	...	...	...
1966	...	...	...	...	...
1967	...	...	...	...	...
1968	...	...	...	...	...
1969	...	...	...	...	...
1970	...	...	...	...	...
1971	...	...	...	...	...
1972	...	...	...	...	...
1973	...	...	...	...	...
1974	...	...	...	...	...
1975	...	...	...	...	...
1976	...	...	...	...	...
1977	...	...	...	...	...
1978	...	...	...	...	...
1979	...	...	...	...	...
1980	...	...	...	...	...
1981	...	...	...	...	...
1982	...	...	...	...	...
1983	...	...	...	...	...
1984	...	...	...	...	...
1985	...	...	...	...	...
1986	...	...	...	...	...
1987	...	...	...	...	...
1988	...	...	...	...	...
1989	...	...	...	...	...
1990	...	...	...	...	...
1991	...	...	...	...	...
1992	...	...	...	...	...
1993	...	...	...	...	...
1994	...	...	...	...	...
1995	...	...	...	...	...
1996	...	...	...	...	...
1997	...	...	...	...	...
1998	...	...	...	...	...
1999	...	...	...	...	...
2000	...	...	...	...	...

ING COAL

ABER

L.	WERFA.					
A	3/6 and 3/					
S	2/10					
F	4/9					
O	2/11					
F	2/11					
M	5/					
D	3/1					
H	1/3					
	3/5					
	3/4					
F	3/8					
						
B	3/7 & 3/3					
I	1/					
I	3/7					
V	4/2 & 3/6					
E	3/10, 3/7, 3/4 3/2					
S	2/11					
H	2/9					
O	1/1					
B	4/3/4, 3/2					
L	2/9, 2/7					
						

MERTHYR

AND

ABERDARE

VALLEYS.

FEB., 1871.

FEB., 1871

[illegible]

APPENDIX No. 1.—Continued.
INFORMATION RELATING TO THE CUTTING OF COAL—FEBRUARY, 1871.

	Thickness of Seam.	PRICES PAID.					REMARKS.
		Merthyr Valley.	Aberdare Valley.	Rhondda Valley.	Ogmore Valley.	Mon- mouth.	
6 Feet—Continued.							
Sguborwen	7 6		1s 9d				
Bwlifa	3 10		1s 9d				
Nantmelyn	3 10		1s 9d				
Cwm-dare	3 10		1s 11d				
Gadlys			1s 10d				
Blaengwawr	3 6		1s 11d				
Fforchaman	3 2		1s 11d				
Cwmneol	3 4		1s 11d				
Aberaman	4 6		1s 11d				
Abercwmboy	2 10		1s 11d				
Abergwawr	3 6		1s 11d				
Dunraven	3 9			1s 10d, including 1d for clod.			
Bute Merthyr	4 8			1s 10d, ditto			
Rhondda Merthyr	4 0						
9 Feet.							
Dowlais	4 10	1s 7d					1½ Screens
Penydarren, Cwm- bargoed	8 1	1s 3d 8-10ths					2d included for not blasting.
Cyfarthfa	7 6	1s 5½d					All Sale Coal.
Plymouth	7 6	1s 5½d					
Rhymney		1s 4d less 5%					
Lower Duffryn	10 0		1s 11d				
Middle do.	10 0		1s 11d				
Lletty Shenkin	9 0 5 6		1/11, 1/8 & 1/7				
Abernant	9 0 12 0		1s 6½d 1s 10½d				
Cwm-bach	8 0 10 0		1s 7d				
Sguborwen	6 9		1s 8d				
Blaengwawr	5 9		1s 10d				
Abercwmboy	5 6		1s 11d				Extra for clod. Allowance for extra clod, and sticking to bottom.
Werfa	9 0		1s 7d 1s 9d				
Llwynypia	7 6			1s 11d			
Malindy	6 6			1s 8d			
Park	5 0 7 0			1s 11d			
				1s 7d & 3d			
Sundry Seams.							
Little Vein, Dowlais	3 11		2s 6d				
Lower 4ft., do.	4 6		2s 6d				
do. Sguborwen	3 0						
Yard Seam, do.	3 9		2s				
7 feet, Upper Duffryn	5 10		1s 10d				
do. Abernant	6 0		1s 11d & 3d				
do. Cwm-bach	5 6		2/3, 2/5½, 2/10				
Dirty Vein, Abernant	3 5		2s 4½d				
Gelli Deg do.	3 5						
Graig Seam, Bwlifa				2s 3½d, including ripping top.			
Elled Vein, Ferndale						2s 3½d	
do. Cwm Tillery	3 6					2s 3½d	
do. Tillery	4 0					2s 10d	
Cwm Tillery, Big Vein	3 6					2s 3½d	
do. 3 do.	3 6					2s 10d	
Big Vein, do.	2 10					2s 3½d	
Three-quarter Vein							
Tillery	3 6				1s 8d thro' & thro'		
Cribbor Fawr Seam, Park	4 5				1s 11½d		
No. 2 Seams, Ogmore	3 4				2/2 & 1d ½ inch for all under 2ft. 8in.		
					1s 6½d		
No. 3 do. do.	2 9						
Llynvi Steam Coal	2 6 4 9						
Yard do., Llynvi	2 10						
Victoria Coal, do.	2 9 3 3						
Black Band, do.	15 inch.						

APPENDIX NO. 3.

DEDUCTIONS FROM PAY TICKETS—FEBRUARY, 1871.

NAMES.	Price paid by Collier for Coal for his own use.	Price paid by other Labourers.	Doctor. d. in £	School.	Helves.	Lamps.	Cottage Rent.
MERTHYR VALLEY.							
Cyfarthfa Company	3s per 12 cwt. of 120 lbs.	5s per 12 cwt. of 120 lbs.	2d	both included	Colliers find their own.	5s 3d and 5s 6d do.	8s and 10s do.
Plymouth Company	3s 1d per 16 cwt. delivered at house.	5s 8d delivered at house.	1½d	1d per child	do.	do.	do.
EAST SIDE OF ABERDARE VALLEY.							
Navigation and Deep } Duffryn	3½d per cwt. delivered at house.	8s per Tram	2d	1d per £	6d each	7s Claney, Davy free	11s & 12s per month, including water
Lower Duffryn	6s 6d per ton delivered.	6s 6d per ton delivered.	2d	1d "	6d "	5s 6d Claney	14s & 15s per month, coal included
Middle do.	6s	6s	2d	1d "	6d "	nil.	12s, 11s, and 7s
High do.	5s	5s	2d	6d "	6d "	do.	do.
Old do.	5s	5s	2d	1d "	6d "	cost price	7s 6d, 10s, and 12s
Lletty Shenkin Company		5s 6d	optional				8s and 10s
Sguborwen	2d per cwt.	5d per cwt.	2d	nil.	5d "		
Werfa	3s per mo. at pit	3s	2d	do.	6d "	6s 6d	6s, 8s, 11s, and 12s
Cwmbach	3s 6d	6s 8d	1½d	1d per £	1s per pair	men find their own repaired by Co. free of charge.	8s & 13s per month
WEST SIDE OF ABERDARE VALLEY.							
Bwlla	6s per ton at pit	7s at pit	2d	½d "	5d each	6s 6d Claney	12s per month
Nantmelyn	7s	7s	2d	½d "	6d "	do.	10s do.
Merthyr Dare	5s	6s 8d for 15 cwt.	2d		6d "	5s 3d do.	10s
Cwm Dare	6s 8d		2d	1d "	6d "		10s to 13s
Gedlys	3s 4d for 16 cwt. Not over 16 cwt.	5s for 16 cwt. per month.	1½d		6d "	5s 3d do.	10s to 13s
Blangwawr	2d per cwt.	4½d per cwt.	2d	nil.	6d "	Davy free, 6s 6d Claney	11s and 12s 6d
Abergwawr	5s 6d	5s 6d	colliers pay their own doctors	1d per £	6d "	nil.	7s, 10s, and 12s
Cwmaman	4s 6d and 5s 6d	4s 6d 5s 6d	2d	1d "	6d "	Davy free, buy their own Claney	6s, 9s, 10s, 11s, 12s, 13s

APPENDIX No. 3—Continued.

DEDUCTIONS FROM PAY TICKETS—FEBRUARY, 1871.

NAMES.	Price paid by Collier for Coal for his own use.	Price paid by other Labourers.	Doctor. d. in £	School.	Helves.	Lamps.	'Cottage Rent.
WEST SIDE ABERDARE VALLEY—Continued.							
Fforchaman	5s	5s	2d	1d per £	6d each.	Davy free, buy their own Clancy. 5s 6d Clancy, 3s 6d Davy. 5s 6d Clancy, 4s 3d Davy.	nil.
Cwmneol	5s	5s	2d	1d "	6d "		11s per month.
Aberaman	5s 3d	5s 3d	2d	1d "	6d "		10s "
RHONDDA VALLEY.							
Llwynypïa	3s. 6d., 2s 6d at Pit, 1s 6d haulage. 2½d., but including haulage 3d.	5s, and 1s 6d haulage. 2½d., but including haulage 3d.	3d	1d "	6d "	5s 6d	13s per 4 weeks.
Malndy	2½d., but including haulage 3d.	2½d., but including haulage 3d.	2d	1d "	6d "	5s 6d	14s "
Park	2½d., but including haulage 3d.	2½d., but including haulage 3d.	3d	1d "	6d "	5s 6d	14s "
Tyla Coch	Getting it from Tipta.	Getting it from Tipta.	3d	1d "	6d "	4s 6d	4s 3d per week.
Bute Merthyr	5s per imperial ton at pit.	6s 8d per imperial ton at pit.	2d	1d "	6d "	6s each.	3s 9d, 4s per week.
Dunraven	" "	" "	"	1d "	6d "	6s "	nil.
Rhondda Merthyr	" "	" "	"	1d "	6d "	6s "	4s, 3s 9d, huts 2s per week.
Ynyfale	3½d per cwt. 120 lbs "	3½d per cwt. of 120lbs at pit.	"	1d "	3d "	5s 6d each.	nil.
Abergorki					3d "	5s 6d	"
Pentre	3d per cwt, at tip.	4d	2d	1d "	6d "	glasses 6d.	14s per 4 weeks.
Ferndale	2d per cwt.	4½d	2d	1d "	6d "	6s 6d	12s and 14s per 4 weeks.
OGMORE VALLEY.							
Brogden	8s 4d per ton.	8s 4d	2d	1½d "	6d "	free	3s 3d per week, house and coal.
Llynvi	6s 8d. per ton at house.	6s 8d	2d	2d "	6d "	free	8s and 12s.
Park	8s 4d	8s 4d	2d	1½d "	6d "	free	2s 3d and 3s 3d week.
MONMOUTHSHIRE.							
Tillery	5s 9d	5s 6d	2d		5d "		2s 9d and 3s "
Cwm Tillery	Allowed to pick on rubbish tips.		2d		6d "		2s, 3s "

CHAPTER IV.

THE foregoing information had weight with the colliery proprietors, and made them the more firmly resolved to enforce the reduction in wages, but, in consequence of the opinion of the colliery managers, as expressed in a resolution come to by them, on the 17th March, 1871, of which the following is a copy:—

“At a meeting held at Mountain Ash, it was unanimously agreed by the managers present, that the present state of trade justifies a reduction of 10 per cent. on all labour in connection with collieries. Taking into consideration the division that has taken place amongst the iron masters as to the percentage of reduction, we consider that the equalization of wages should be deferred for the present.”

—they refrained from taking any immediate steps towards equalizing the wages with the rates paid in the iron masters' districts.

It has already been said that, on the 1st of April, the scale of wages, based on five per cent. reduction, came into operation, and that the submission of the workmen was general. Contrary to the usual result of a reduction, when despondency might be supposed to prevail amongst the workmen, a positive buoyancy of spirit was apparent in their ranks. They could not fail to perceive the split in the masters' camp, and they acted accordingly,

Agitation was rife, professional unionists came into the district, and roused the workmen to a state of *insubordination* and dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs. The Union spread its seed in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys, but it made no progress either in Monmouthshire or Merthyr. Its fruits were manifested by the strike in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys.

Although the depression in trade, which justified the employers in making a reduction of wages in March, still continued, the workmen gave a general notice, on the 1st May, 1871, to the iron masters of Monmouthshire and South Wales, and the coal owners of Aberdare and Rhondda. The following is a copy:—

“NOTICE PAPER.

“MAY 1st, 1871.

“SIR,

“I hereby give you a *Month's Notice*, that the contract relative to employment at present existing between the proprietors of the works at which I am now employed, and myself, will terminate at the expiration of one month from the above date.

“(Signed)

“To

“Mr.

“Manager of .”

If this notice were not clearly instigated by “The Union,” certainly it had its moral support and sanction, for, on the 2nd May, at a conference held at the Mechanics’ Institute, David-street, Manchester, a resolution was passed, “That the

question of wages be left in the hands of the Executive,—South Wales to have the first claim, North Staffordshire the next.* This shewed clearly that the intention was to create a strike, in case the demand for an advance should not be complied with. The amount of advance required was not at the time mentioned, but it transpired during the month, that their demand was for ten per cent.

On the 26th of May, 1871, at a general meeting of the coal trade, held at Cardiff, it was unanimously resolved that the demand of the workmen for an advance of wages should be refused. The majority of the coal owners of the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys entered into a binding engagement, that in future their action with regard to labour should be uniform. It was felt, that should an advance of wages be made, such advance would be but the precursor of further claims on the part of the workmen, and that it was necessary to check the growing tendency to direct insubordination in the pits. The production of coal having in some cases fallen off very considerably, difficulties had been found by the managers of the pits in preserving the necessary discipline for working the mines to advantage. Unsolicited by the owners, the managers of nineteen pits met at Aberdare on the 12th of May, 1871, and discussed the question entirely from a practical mining point of view, irrespective of its commercial bearings, and unanimously passed a resolution, of which the following is a copy:—

*Whilst these pages are being written, North Staffordshire is getting its next chance.

“MEETING OF COLLIERY MANAGERS, HELD AT
ABERDARE, THE 12TH MAY, 1871.

“*Resolved*,—That it is our opinion, as managers of collieries, that unless the proprietors resist to the utmost any demands of the men for an advance of wages at the present time, it will be impossible to manage them, and the loss to the masters therefrom will be incalculable; and whatever action the iron masters may take, we are deeply convinced it will be fatal to the interests of the coal owners to give way in the least to the demands of the men.”

This resolution made a deep impression on the employers, and, perhaps more than the mere monetary consideration, influenced them in coming to the decision that no advance should be granted. This meeting was very numerously attended by the masters, and it was only after a very anxious consideration of all the possibilities of the strike, that they picked up the gauntlet thrown down by the men. They did not disguise the fact from themselves that their refusal meant a strike, and some few candidly admitted that they were not prepared for one. With respect to the action of these latter gentlemen, more will hereafter be said. The majority, fully calculating the cost of maintaining in good condition their pits in an idle state for a lengthened period—the diversion of their trade to other centres of mining industry—the protracted period during which lower prices might rule, whilst that trade was being recovered—yet deliberately took their ground, and maintained it with perfect good faith to each other, during the strike,

The decision was duly conveyed to the workmen by the several managers, and on the 30th of May, a meeting was held at the Harp Inn, Mountain Ash, at which were present 63 delegates, supposed to represent 18,326 men. It took from 11 until 1 o'clock for the names to be called out, and the decisions of the men to be recorded. The following was the result:—

For accepting the masters' terms under the present	
circumstances 	3,497
Neutrals 	2,742
For adhering to the first resolution—viz., 10% ...	4,940
For working if the masters would grant 5% ...	7,147
	18,326

The majority therefore was in favour of accepting 5 per cent., but a blank refusal for *any* advance having been given by the masters, the strike was resolved upon.

In coming to this decision, the men were influenced greatly by the representations of Mr. Thomas Halliday, the President of the Amalgamated Association of Miners. He told them that the society had at its command in England and Wales 40,000 to 50,000 miners who were ready to pay their weekly levies to support their fellow workmen; that the "Union" had already paid in Wales for the support of workmen on strike at the

	£	s.	d.
Vron Colliery, North Wales	1,273	11	4
Rhuabon Colliery, North Wales	79	0	0
Law Expenses, &c., &c.	28	0	0
Abertillery, Monmouthshire	73	0	0
New Tredegar and Deri	300	1	10
Mr. Smedley (Union-man), Aberdare	3	17	0
	<u>£1,757</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>

That the central funds were as follow:—

DR.	£	s.	d.	CR.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand of Treasurer,				General working expenses,			
September 30, 1870 ...	345	15	1	including the expenses of			
Received since:—				parliamentary and other			
In Oct.—Special Levy ...	19	0	0	deputations	392	18	7½
„ General Levy ...	123	16	9	Amount paid for Strike pay	243	2	4
Nov. „ ...	99	4	10	Balance in hand ...	770	19	0½
Dec. „ ...	179	6	8				
Jan., 1871 „ ...	135	18	10				
Feb. „ ...	150	11	1				
March „ ...	159	11	0				
April „ ...	193	15	9				
TOTAL	<u>£1,407</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		<u>£1,407</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

The colliers were further influenced in their decision by the fact that the ironmasters in Monmouthshire and Merthyr, and, what was more, some even of the Aberdare colliery owners, had agreed to give the workmen 5 per cent. At this, and other meetings, the men were under, or professed to be under, a sense of injustice inflicted upon them by their masters in the refusal.

CHAPTER V.

ON the 31st of May the works ceased, at not only the pits belonging to the associated masters, but also at the pits of a few owners who had refused to join the Association, holding themselves free to act as circumstances might guide them.

The following is a list of the Associated Collieries, numbers of workmen, and tons of Steam Coal produced in 1870. They remained idle during the entire period of the Strike :—

Names of Owners.	Pits.	Men and Boys.	Tons of Coal.	
Powell's Duffryn Co.	Lower Duffryn (2 pits)	893	191,694	Aberdare Valley, 18 Pits.
	Middle do.	575	126,058	
	High do.	218	47,976	
	Old do.	71	27,498	
	Abergwawr	332	90,497	
	Fforchaman	410	94,252	
	Cwmdare	222	41,926	
	Cwmneol	400	62,954	
	Aberaman	522	58,171	
		3,643	741,026	
Nixon, Taylor, and Cory	Navigation & Deep Duffryn	1,112	278,546	Aberdare Valley, 18 Pits.
	Abercwmboy	466	65,135	
D. Davis & Sons	Blaengwawr	476	73,577	
	Cwmbach	493	90,267	
Aberdare Coal Co.	Letty Shenkin	356	57,371	
Lletty Shenkin Co.	Nantmelyn	450	89,708	
Mordecai Jones	Bwlfa	494	104,927	
Bwlfa Colliery Co.				
D. Davis & Sons	Ferndale	596	100,492	Rhondda Valley, 8 Pits.
David Davies & Co.	Ocean (3 pits)	1,192	290,299	
Marquis of Bute	Cwmsaebon	320	67,346	
Pentre Colliery Co.	Pentre	241	50,791	
Clamcrgan Co.	Llwympia	170	36,642	
Sympleon & Warner	Boedryngallt	123	30,412	
		10,132	2,076,539	

The following also remained idle during the strike, abiding by the result. The owners felt the importance of resisting the demands of the workmen, and the only subject for regret is, that they did not heartily join the Associated Masters.

Names of Proprietors.	Pits.	Men and Boys	Tons of Coal.	
George Insole and Son ...	Abergorki ...	588	132,344	Rhondda Valley, 2 Pits.
Coffin and Co. ...	Dinas ...	200	45,495	
		788	177,839	

The following resisted for a few days, apparently as if with the intention of bearing the brunt of a strike, but they severally submitted to the demands of the workmen, the *alleged* reason being, that there were certain contracts to fulfil, the non-performance of which would entail heavy damages. A general impression prevailed that the real reason was, to take advantage of the *high price of coal*, resulting from the withdrawal from the market, of coal produced at the Associated Masters' pits.

Days during which a resistance was made.	Names of Proprietors.	Pits.	Men and Boys	Tons of Coal.	
3	Samuel Thomas ...	Sguborwen ...	435	99,045	Aberdare Valley, 3 Pits.
14	Wayne and Co. ...	Gadlys... ..	612	126,612	
7	H. J. Evans ...	Cwmaman ...	380	78,357	
			1,427	304,014	

The following owners did *not* resist the demand, but gave the advance of 5 per cent. immediately, for pretty much the same reasons that actuated the proprietors of the pits immediately preceding :—

Proprietors.	Pits.	Men and Boys.	Tons of Coal.	
Heath, Evens & Co. ...	Werfa ...	524	58,812	Aberdare Valley, 3 Pits.
R. Fothergill ...	Abernant ...	639	160,608	
*Rhys & Richards ...	Merthyr Dare ...	216	38,670	
Dunraven Co. ...	Dunraven ...	420	98,915	Rhondda Valley, 4 Pits.
Thomas Jones ...	Tyla Coch ...	165	30,492	
Ebenezer Lewis ...	Rhondda Merthyr ...*	250	44,942	
William Cope ...	Ynysfaio ...	137	24,918	
		2,351	457,357	

*The foregoing remarks do not apply to this colliery which occupied a special position. The firm not having *reduced* in March, 1871, no *advance* was made.

The foregoing statements when condensed, shew:—

No. of Pits.		Men and Boys.	Tons of Steam Coal produced in 1870.	
Aberdare.	Rhondda.			
18	8	10,132	2,076,539	Associated Collieries closed till end of Strike. Non-Associated Collieries closed till end of Strike. Non-Associated Collieries resisted for a few days and then submitted. Did not resist, but gave the men the 5 per cent. as requested.
...	2	788	177,839	
3	...	1,427	304,014	
3	4	2,351	457,857	
24	14	14,698	3,015,749	

Practically, therefore, after the first fortnight, the number of workmen out on strike was 10,920, and the number who remained in employment in the steam coal pits of the Aberdare and Rhondda—3,778.

Although the funds of the Union were inadequate to the support of 10,920 men and boys, the Executive calculated upon many probabilities in their favour. In the first place they relied upon the outside collieries and iron works employing a great number of the workmen who had struck—that the workers of steam coal in the non-associated collieries and iron works would support the workmen who had struck—that the workers of bituminous coal would likewise do so; and in the next place, what was, perhaps, of more importance to them—that “the Union” was not bound to support all the workmen who had struck, but only those who had been duly enrolled for three months. As circumstances turned out, these probabilities were realized, and being so, caused considerable difficulty to the Associated Masters. The

Union, however, was not without misgiving as to the result, seeing that it had to rely for support upon great numbers of the very workmen whom it professed to be able to protect against the masters.

The Union being new in South Wales, was fairly on its trial, and as was hinted previously, it would have preferred to have had large *subscriptions*, instead of commencing *payments*. This difficulty caused the Union to make several shifts, later on, in order to evade payment of the claims. The "Executive" anxious to encourage the hopes of the men, made repeated speeches about their great resources, and also as to their willingness and ability to support those on strike. Mr. Halliday's statement that there were 40,000 or 50,000 in the Union, does not appear to have been substantiated, but, on the contrary, the masters were saved the necessity of exposing the weakness of the Union, by the publication of an extract from the society's report of the Conference held in Manchester, on the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th of May, 1871.

Amalgamated Association of Miners—Numerical Strength in England.

Places.	Number of Members.	Remarks.
Wigan	3,000	Not progressing.
Tamworth and Kearsley	1,800	At a standstill.
Worsley	890	Falling away.
St. Helens	501	Increasing.
Hollingwood	50	Falling off.
North Staffordshire	2,500	Falling off.
In North Staffordshire there were about 9,000 hewers, of whom only 2,500 were in the Union, and their average earnings not more than 18s. per week.		
South Wales, as stated by Mr. Abednego Williams, 11,000 to	12,000	
Monmouth, as stated by Mr. Hy. Mitcham, 2,500 to	3,000	
North Wales, as stated by Mr. Rowe, Cefn & Mr. Dodd, Rhos	130	
	23,901	

It therefore occasioned no surprise, when on the 7th of June, (one week after the strike had commenced) the Executive of the Amalgamated Association of Miners met at the Rainbow Hotel, Manchester, and unanimously passed the following resolution:—

“This Executive having fully considered the dispute relative to wages in South Wales, expresses its approval of settling the same by arbitration, as recommended by the Editor of the “Western Mail,” and resolves that a deputation be appointed to go to South Wales to meet the miners, in order to recommend them to have the dispute settled by such means.”

Probably, the officers of the Union were impelled to make this offer of arbitration, by the fact that such a mode of settlement had already been adopted successfully in the Midland Counties; that there existed in Northumberland and Durham, a Board of Conciliation, and that the organisation of such a Board in South Wales, would have the effect of consolidating the Union.

9th June, 1871, Friday.—A meeting was held on the Aberaman Mountain, when Mr. Halliday (who has been facetiously called the Prophet), and his “friend Brown,” addressed a great multitude of the workmen, and prevailed upon them to propose to the masters—Arbitration.

14th June, 1871, Wednesday.—The masters met at Bristol, and resolved that, until another meeting should be called for the purpose, they would not permit the workmen to return to their employment at the old scale of wages, the feeling being: that as the men had come out in the endeavour to obtain their own terms

and the difficulty being of their own creating, that the masters should now endeavour, for the first time, to take steps in the direction of an equalization of wages. So they further resolved to publish the following resolution:—

“That the masters are ready to accept arbitration, provided that the reference covers the comparative differences in the scale of wages (including the 5 per cent. recent advance) paid by the ironmasters, being colliery proprietors of the neighbouring Merthyr Valley, to the men working the steam coal, which is sold in direct competition with the coal of the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys. The masters and men being bound for a period of 12 months to the scale of wages fixed by the arbitrators, after full review of all the circumstances affecting the districts mentioned, the mode of working, and the value of the labour applied, whether such scale shall be fixed in excess, or in reduction, of the wages recently current at the collieries now under strike.”

To this offer the workmen made no reply, but settled down into a state of stolid indifference; the masters, on their side, also being content to wait the issue. The workmen were encouraged to resistance by the action of Messrs. Wayne & Co., of Gadlys; Mr. Samuel Thomas, of Sguborwen, and Mr. Evans, of Cwmaman, who had severally given way after making a show of resistance for a few days.

It cannot be denied, but that the submission of these gentlemen had a depressing effect upon the Associated Owners,

but, rightly surmising that any weakness now, would be prejudicial in the extreme, they determined to hold on the course they had marked out from the first. The workmen not unnaturally argued that, as the Iron Masters of Monmouthshire, and Merthyr, and some few of the Colliery Proprietors in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys had *without* pressure given the advance, and moreover, that since the 1st of June, the Gadlys and others had given way *after* pressure, that not only were their prospects brighter for obtaining a victory over their employers, but that they had *justice* on their side.

Now, we enter upon a period of which it is difficult to speak in terms other than of regret for the sufferings of the families, of not only those of the workmen who were positive and determined in their resistance to their employers, but also of those who were willing to work, but by the votes of their fellows had been prevented.

Early in June it became evident to the workmen on strike, that the promises of substantial aid made by the Union were not about to be realized. It had been held out that each workman should receive 10s. per week, and that a further sum of 1s. per week for each child would be allowed. It has, however, been shewn that the total number of men in union was 23,901, whilst out of them must be reckoned 10,917 to be supported by contribution. It was therefore unreasonable of the officers of the Union to say that they could give 10s. per man to 10,917, equal to £5,458 10s., and that this sum should

be derived weekly from the surplus earnings of the 12,984 Unionist Miners who were at work. In fact, it was at once palpable to the public, and eventually so to the miners themselves, that it was never the intention to carry this into effect.

In the first place, the Union alleged that the miners on strike, who were *new* members, were not entitled to full relief, until they had been enrolled for a period of three months, (which they certainly had not), but that they would be dealt with *liberally*. They calculated on the capability of great numbers of the workmen on strike obtaining employment in the surrounding districts, and thereby not only diminishing the number of claimants for weekly allowance, but also increasing the number of those who supplied the funds. In this the Union evinced more than ordinary sagacity; their plans were well laid, and workmen found employment in such numbers as to afford a material help to those on strike, and to relieve the burden upon the Union.

CHAPTER VI.

20th June.—On this day, a suggestion was made, and immediately adopted—That each of the Associated Masters should send daily to the Secretary, intelligence of what was transpiring in the immediate neighbourhood of the Collieries—the Secretary to send out daily a lithographed circular, containing a concise *resumé* of the whole. This was duly begun, and carried on until the end of the strike. The circulars were found to be useful in keeping all the Associated Masters fully informed.

From those records brief extracts are here given:—

20th June.—Mr. Halliday was said to have brought £600, being the first contingent from the “Central Fund.” Three weeks due at 10s. per man per week, $10,917 \times 30s. = £16,375\ 10s.$, and only £600 to satisfy the claim! Not a very bright beginning. Depression prevailed; many of the men regretted having come out, but could not well recede now, as they would be called *Turn-Coats*. The masters' proposition had been sent to Manchester for consideration by the Union. Men afraid of such a “leap in the dark” as to accept arbitration on the basis of a comparison between the rates paid by the Associated Masters, and the Ironmasters of Merthyr and Dowlais.

21st June.—At New Tredegar, in Monmouthshire, *threatening letters* and placards sent out. Additional reserves of police obtained. *Begging* resorted to in earnest. Scouts sent everywhere to obtain money. Dowlais workmen gave the most substantial aid. Co-operative Stores gave donation of £50, to Union Local Funds. Benefit Club Funds began to be broken up. The *poorer* families received slight aid from the Union. Men on strike asking discharge notes from Associated Masters. Managers refused to comply on the ground that the men had discharged themselves.

22nd June.—The ironmasters and non-associated coal owners taking on the strike hands. Their pits at full work. Great numbers of men have left the district. An Associated Master to perform a contract, sent his waggons to a pit in the Neath Valley, but the workmen thereat *refused to fill them*. Groups of men discussed the question of arbitration, and seemed willing to accept as a basis, the rates paid *at the Gadlys, and Abernant Iron Works, of the Aberdare Valley*. Under a feigned ignorance of the exact difference between the rates paid at the Associated Collieries, and at the Iron Works of *Merthyr and Dowlais*, they were yet intelligent enough to suggest as a basis, the *higher* rates paid at Gadlys and Abernant. They made no positive offer of this.

23rd June.—Last night the Union paid the first subsidy of 2s. to 2s. 6d. per man = 10d. per week. It was said that all this was spent in drink on the instant. Great complaints amongst the wives

at the small amount paid. Meeting of the managers of the non-associated collieries held to-day at Aberdare. They denied employing any of the men. So far as they were *personally* concerned, their denial might be received, but the fact cannot be controverted that either *directly* or *indirectly* they did engage the men. Ebbw Vale, Blaenavon, Rhymney, and Dowlais Companies are discharging the men, and refusing others. One Ironmaster, who shall be nameless, buying more bituminous coal than formerly, for the making of iron, *in order to send all his 4ft. and 9ft. steam coal to market, where he can obtain higher prices consequent upon the withdrawal of the coal produced by the Associated Masters.*

Prior to the strike, all the ironmasters had promised that, in the event of a strike, not only would they refuse to employ the workmen, but they volunteered to furnish the Associated Masters with all the surplus coal, beyond what was necessary for the carrying out of their own contracts. One company fulfilled its promises in some measure, but none did so heartily, nor to the full extent.

24th June, Friday. — Stated that the ironmasters were re-engaging the men. On application to the managers this was denied; but the workmen being recognized, it was ascertained that they were employed by the mineral agents.

25th June, Saturday.—Mr. Mordecai Jones sent some of his waggons to Mr. Fothergill's pits at Abernant, where the men struck work, because they saw these waggons on the siding, believing it to be Mr. Fothergill's intention to supply a master who was resisting the men's demands. Mr. Smith, the manager of the Abernant Works, punished his men by giving them an idle day on the following Monday.

June 26th.—A letter appeared in the *Western Mail*, signed "North Eastern," in which a comparison was made between the North country and Welsh miners, not very flattering to the latter. It stated that—

"During the past year, for every £100 invested in the two northern collieries we raised and sold 538 tons of large merchantable coal; while for every £100 invested in Wales, we raised and sold only 162 tons of large coal." He attributed the entire blame of this deficiency in the amount of production, to the indolent habits of the Southern miner. "Compared to one of our Northern pitmen," he says, "the Welsh collier is *as the mule is to a horse*." In the North, the pits are kept at work practically day and night. One set of men work an early, and another a late "shift;" so that in relation to the amount of capital invested in sinking, opening out, and maintaining any given colliery, just twice the amount of coal is raised in the North as is brought to bank in South Wales. In addition to this, the sentiment of the men on the subject of getting coal, is quite different in the North to what it is in this district. There, the

pitman goes down for his eight-hour "shift," works as hard as he can, and comes to bank to enjoy the leisure to which his toil entitles him. In South Wales, on the other hand, the collier "nurses" his work. He remains in the pit many more hours than the Northern workman, and yet raises individually much less coal. All the rules of the pit, made by the men, and which operate amongst themselves, are in restraint of production. It is a point of honour with them not to "race."

Many a good workman, who, 6 months ago was earning 12s. per day in cutting coal, earned during the two months immediately preceding the strike, little more than *half*. Take one man as an example.

In January lunar month, the pit worked 19 days out of 24; he worked on those 19 days, earning for himself and boy £13 7 11
Equal to 11s. 8d. per day for himself, and 3s. per day for his boy.

In May lunar month, the pit worked 24 days; the same man working on all those 24 days, under equal circumstances, earned only £11 4 9
Equal to 6s. 5d. per day for himself, and 3s. per day for his boy.

Scores of similar instances could be given. What does this prove, but that the collier, when left to his free will, under circumstances open to all *able and willing* colliers, can earn 11s. to 12s. per day, yet, when controlled by the Union, his earnings will dwindle to half. As the latter pay suffices for his wants, he thinks there is an end of the matter, but it is not

so. The "*unfair day's work*" means less profit to the master,—uncertainty in the execution of contracts,—diversion of trade to other centres of industry—slack times—less work for the collier, who then grumbles at the irregularity of work, which irregularity has been caused by his own "restriction of output."

27th June.—Men lately engaged at Plymouth Iron Works are taking 1s. per day less than at their old employment.—Bristol wholesale tea dealers are said to be telegraphing to their local agents, to *stop supplying the smaller dealers* who support the men on strike.—Men continue to leave the district, so that the longer Mr. Halliday can defer his payment, the less necessity there is for a *substantial* one.—Mr. Halliday said to have stated, that plenty of money can be had if responsible men will guarantee repayment from local funds. This is evidently a ruse to defer payment of claims.

Associated colliery proprietors persist that ironmasters are employing men on strike; therefore, the following circular was addressed to all the ironmasters.

"SOUTH WALES STEAM COAL COLLIERIES ASSOCIATION,
"Cardiff, 27th June, 1871.

"SIR,

"During the existing strike amongst miners, it has been alleged that many of the ironmasters and coal owners of the surrounding districts are employing these men, either through their managers, or indirectly, by permitting them to go in under assumed names, or, as helpers to those who are regular workmen.

"The effect of this is, to increase the difficulties of the coal trade, and, as the object of the masters is to check the advancing tendency of wages, it is hoped that you will take energetic steps to stop the coal owners' men from getting into your works, *directly or indirectly*.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"ALEX. DALZIEL,

"Secretary."

27th June.—This circular elicited a hearty response from several masters, but it would be idle to deny that some, nevertheless continued to employ the men.—Whether the issue of this circular were a wise step or not, it is not perhaps, necessary *now* to enquire, certainly it is open to grave question, as to its being contrary to public policy, and tending to interfere with the free employment of labour.

28th June.—Men continue to find employment elsewhere.—The Owners of a neighbouring colliery sent to the Manager of the Ocean pits, asking for the loan of horses, in order to keep at full work the new hands lately engaged by them, many being the strike hands from the Ocean pits! £2,000 of Union money *supposed* to have arrived, although no positive payment made.—Tradesmen suffering much from want of custom.

29th June.—During the last few days, efforts made by gentlemen not directly interested in the dispute, to bring about a settlement by mediation—The Rev. D. Jones, Incumbent of Mountain Ash, corresponding with Mr. Bruce, the Home Secretary—

Mr. John Bovey, a Ship-broker at the port of Cardiff, had an interview with Lord Bute on the subject—Lieut.-Col. Hill, president of the Cardiff Chamber of Commerce also proffered his services. These well-meant endeavours were checked, on its being represented that they would be prejudicial, as holding out hopes to the workmen, that pressure would be brought to bear upon the Associated Masters, to give the advance demanded.

30th June.—The report that £2,000 had been brought down by the Union proved to be incorrect. No such money paid.—Numbers of men start from their homes in a morning with baggage, as if leaving permanently, returning after dark, and keeping out of sight during following day—"Union Tactics!" Complaints still made that the men are engaged at Merthyr Dare, Sguborwen, Resolven, and Ebbw Vale works.

CHAPTER VII.

The following statement, printed in English and Welsh, was published by the Amalgamated Association of Miners. It is inaccurate in many respects.

“AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF MINERS.

“TO THE WORKMEN IN GENERAL, AND TO THE COLLIERS IN PARTICULAR.

“FELLOW WORKINGMEN;—

“Inasmuch as we have entirely failed through the instrumentality of the Public Press to defend our Principles, ourselves, and also the difficulties that we are now contending with, we adopt the present mode of making our case known to the public at large. Therefore, in connection with the present dispute, we have been falsely accused, and we have been misrepresented with scorn by the Public Press, and that without a shadow of justice.

“In the month of April last, the whole of the colliers were reduced 5 per cent., except the house coal colliers. In the latter end of March, a public meeting was held of all the coal miners in the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan on the Aberunan Mountain—it was there decided that the 5 per cent. reduction be accepted, but with feelings of dissatisfaction; it was also decided that two men from

each colliery should solicit their employers not to reduce the men's wages, but let them work on in peace—but a deaf ear was turned to their request. Also in connection with that meeting, it was decided that the men should give a month's notice on the first day of May for the 10 per cent. advance. The demand was refused by the masters in general; but the men at the iron works obtained an advance of 5 per cent. At a meeting held at Mountain Ash, May 30, it was decided in order to meet the masters half-way to accept the 5 per cent. advance as given by the ironmasters to their men; but to our surprise and regret, the steam coal proprietors refused to concede anything. After sending two men from each colliery, respectfully asking them for the advance, the consequence was, that the men brought out their tools rather than be the means of reducing all those who had obtained the advance in the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan.

“The reason why the masters would not grant the 5 per cent. advance, is this, that they give higher wages to the steam coal colliers of the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys for getting the coal than the ironmasters do in the Merthyr Valley to the extent of 25 per cent. Mr. Dalziel, secretary to the Coal Masters Association, said to a deputation of the miners, that the employers intended levelling the steam coal miners down to the same position as the Merthyr colliers, that is, 25 per cent., or in other words, 5s. in the pound. Further proof of this is, that the masters have refused to arbitrate on the 5 per cent. What puzzles us is this, that the small

steam coal proprietors have given the advance, and the men are now comfortable at work. They sell their coal in the same market as those large firms; but their dignity is so great—they cannot stoop to meet their men. They are using all their influence at Abernant, Gadlys, Werfa, Shepherd's Pit, Merthyr, Dowlais, and many other places, to stop the men from getting employment—scores of the men have been stopped after getting work at other places. When the next election comes for Parliament, Board of Guardians, Board of Health, School Board. &c., turn your enemies out, and substitute them by your friends—you have the power, use it.

“Dear Brethren and Fellow-Workmen,—Should we be obliged to go to work at the reduction, you may depend upon it, that all those who are now working on the advance will be reduced also; and where reductions may end no one can say. The Union that has been lately established is what our employers want to scatter to the winds—although they have a Union themselves, they do not want the men to be united, but that they should be at the mercy of their employers. Therefore, let us be united one and all as the heart of one man, then we shall do ourselves and our employers much good. Therefore, we sincerely call on you to help us to win the battle by levies and subscriptions. There are many families in want of bread—let us give them to eat. Remember, that is the weak place in our ranks. The masters know it well, and are doing all they can to starve us. Therefore, brethren, will you allow it to be so? If you will faithfully do your

duty, we shall certainly gain the day. Some thousands have left Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys, and we advise all others behind to do the same, if they can, but don't forget the Union and your duty. Men will be sent amongst you to different parts, they will give you all necessary instructions—they will have authority to receive subscriptions for the General Fund; they will also have Books with the Union stamp thereon—none else will be genuine.

“By order of the Committee, we are, yours truly, &c.

“*Aberaman, June 29th, 1871.*”

“ADVERTISEMENT.

“A General Delegate Meeting will be held at Mountain Ash, on Tuesday, July 4th, 1871, at 10 o'clock in the morning; one delegate from each colliery, and one from each lodge of the Union in the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan, are requested to attend.”

30th June.—The Associated Masters could not take notice of the foregoing manifesto, as they were averse to acknowledging any interference between themselves and their workmen. On this day, there was held a meeting of the *Managers of Pits*, and it was resolved that—

“In the opinion of the managers, the strike was now being prolonged by the employment given to such large numbers by the ironmasters of the Counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan, and that, in their opinion, steps should be taken

immediately by the coal masters to bring this matter before the whole of the ironmasters of the district."

It was suggested that a meeting of the ironmasters should be called, so as to bring about a more thorough and stringent action in this matter. No such meeting of masters was held, but private efforts were made to induce the ironmasters to refrain from employing the workmen, and to discharge those already engaged. Very partial success was the result. It was roundly denied by the ironmasters and the non-associated colliery proprietors, that the workmen were employed by them.

Suggestions were thrown out that, the managers of collieries should meet, and endeavour to consolidate their separate and independent "Contract Rules" and "Bye Laws" into thoroughly good agreements, for the purpose of establishing uniformity in hiring, and the preservation of discipline amongst the workmen. It was intended that these proposed new "Contract Rules" should be signed by each miner, and put in force at each pit on the resumption of work. The arrangement of this matter was the cause of considerable trouble to the Associated Masters and their managers at several meetings held at Cardiff, Aberdare, and Pontypridd during the ensuing six weeks.

Two forms of agreement—the one being for an ordinary monthly hiring—the other for a twelve months', somewhat after the fashion of the "Northumbrian Bond," were ultimately agreed upon, and revised under legal advice. It is however

to be regretted, that after all this trouble, neither form of Bond was put in force, the masters being content, in August, to allow work to be resumed under the old and ordinary conditions of labour. They were unwilling to provoke any unnecessary discussion with their workmen on these Bonds, however desirable their attainment might be. Although the consideration of them occupied, as has been said, the time of several meetings, it will not be necessary hereafter to make any further allusion to them,—seeing that they were never carried into effect. For the information of the reader, copies of these Bonds are inserted.

MEMORANDUM OF TWELVE MONTHS' AGREEMENT.

MADE this day of 1871, between
the owners of the

COLLIERY, in the County of Glamorgan, hereinafter designated or described by the word "Owners" of the one part; and the several other persons whose names or marks are hereunto subscribed, and hereinafter designated or described by the word "Workmen" of the other part:

1st.—The said owners will employ each of the undersigned workmen, and each of the undersigned workmen will serve the said owners from the date set opposite the names or marks of the said workmen, until the
day of 1872, to cut, fill, haul, drive, and tram coals, work day work, and to do all such other work for carrying on the said colliery, as they the said workmen shall be directed to do by the said owners, their manager,

or agents, at the respective rates and prices, and on the terms, conditions, and stipulations, and under and subject to the penalties and forfeitures hereinafter specified.

2nd.—The owners agree to pay the said workmen once a month upon the accustomed day, and up to the preceding Saturday, the wages earned by them at the following rates, namely— * * * * *

And when any one of the undersigned workmen being for the time being employed as a collier shall be required to work day-work, he shall be paid per day, of ten hours working at his working place.

3rd.—Such of the said workmen as are for the time being employed as colliers, shall fill the trams with large marketable coal free from brass, bast, stone, iron-stone, bad coal, shale, or rubbish; and in case any brass, bast, stone, iron-stone, bad coal, shale, or rubbish shall be found in any collier's tram to the amount of 20 pounds, he shall forfeit and pay to the said owners a sum of ; and for every 30 pounds ; and for every 50 pounds ; and if the whole quantity of brass, bast, stone, iron-stone, bad coal, shale, or rubbish found in any collier's tram shall exceed 90 pounds, he shall forfeit and pay , but he shall receive the agreed price for cutting the good large marketable coal therein.

4th.—Every workman when required, except when prevented by sickness or other sufficient unavoidable cause, shall perform

a full day's work of 10 hours, and shall not leave work until such day's work is fully performed; and every workman who shall lose a day contrary to this rule, shall be liable to a penalty of 2s. 6d. for each and every day so lost; and if he be unable to attend through sickness, he must obtain and send to the said owners, or their manager, a certificate from the surgeon to the works, that he is unable to attend from such cause, and if he fail or neglect to procure such certificate, he shall be deemed to have committed a breach of this rule.

5th.—When any workman is injured by a fall, or otherwise, only the number of workmen actually necessary to take him home shall leave the colliery, and such number shall be ascertained, and the workmen selected by the overman or fireman in charge of that part of the colliery where the accident happens.

6th.—Every workman employed as a collier shall put his mark on the side of the trams of coal that he may cut and fill.

7th.—The manager of the said colliery may at any time prevent the use of gunpowder, either wholly, or in part; and he may introduce and enforce the use of the Davy, Clanny, or Stephenson lamp at his discretion; and he may introduce a larger or smaller tram at his discretion, paying of course by the ton weight for cutting and filling the same.

8th.—That each of the undersigned workmen shall, when required, do the work of overman, fireman, timberman, collier, haulier, doorboy, shifter, wasteman, hitcher, banksman, screener, furnaceman, or any other work that may be necessary or incidental to the proper working and safe conduct of the colliery, and shall be paid for such work, duly and well performed, the wages generally paid at the said colliery for such or similar work.

9th.—The owners shall provide and keep at the colliery a weighing machine, and each and every tram of coal shall be weighed thereon, and if either the owners or their manager, or the workmen shall be desirous of adjusting the weighing machine, used at the said colliery, and of such desire shall give to the other party to this agreement a reasonable notice, an adjustment thereof shall take place in the presence of the weighman appointed respectively by the owners and by the workmen; and whenever such machine shall be found to be incorrect, it shall, with all convenient speed, be rectified, but not so as to interrupt the working of the said colliery, and no account shall be taken or claim made on either side for any error previous to such adjustment.

10th.—Each workman shall be provided with a Davy lamp, and mandrils, sledges, wedges, and bars, where required, by the said owners, for which he shall be accountable to the said owners; but he shall provide himself, at his own expense, with all other necessary tools for working.

11th.—Each of the said workmen, employed for the time being as a colliér, shall work the coal so as to produce as much large marketable coal as the nature of the colliery will admit of, and shall wall, fill up, and gob up all the small coal, shale and rubbish made in each colliers' working place, and shall work the coal by long work, narrow work, pillar and stall, double stall, or in such other manner as the said owners, their manager, or agents shall direct. In every long work, stall, heading, cross heading or level, or deep or rise heading, not less than two men, two men and a boy, or one man and two boys shall work, and the men shall be answerable for the boys working with them, and shall see that they attend to and perform the special and general rules for the regulations of the colliery.

12th.—Such of the said workmen as are, for the time being, employed as colliers, are to be allowed one with another during the whole period of their working, save for one fortnight, to be fixed by the owners, and save in case of accident or interruption to the working of the colliery, or to the drawing, leading, or shipping of the coals, or in consequence of the colliery being unsafe, not less work than will yield to them at the aforementioned rate, the sum of per week, on an average for the last twelve preceding consecutive weeks.

13th.—Such of the said workmen as are, for the time being, employed as hauliers, shall duly haul, drive, and lead away such a number of trams of coal as shall be a reasonable

and a fair day's work, such day's work to consist of not less than ten hours, and to commence from the drawing of the first coal.

14th.—If any workman shall disobey the orders of the said owners or their manager or agents, or commit a breach of any of the articles in this agreement, then and in every such case the owners are hereby authorised to stop and to retain out of the wages next becoming due and payable to each and every such workman so offending, who shall exceed the age of 21 years, a sum not exceeding 2s. 6d. for every such offence; but nothing herein contained shall interfere with the jurisdiction vested in the magistrates with regard to any offence committed by such person.

15th.—This agreement is made upon the express condition that if any of the undersigned persons shall leave the said colliery before the proper termination of this contract, and without lawful excuse, or shall be rightfully and lawfully dismissed by the owners or their agents for negligently or wilfully committing any breach of this agreement, or the general and special rules, established for the safe guidance and regulation of the said colliery (a copy of all such general and special rules are hereby acknowledged to have been received), he shall absolutely forfeit the whole of the wages that he may have earned and not actually received, although the whole or some part of the said wages may have been earned or become due or payable before the same person shall have so left or been dismissed as aforesaid,

16th.—Every workman who shall occupy a cottage belonging to or provided by the said owners, shall keep in good repair the glass in the windows of the said cottage, and shall not injure any part of the said cottage further than the ordinary and necessary wear and tear; and if the said cottage be injured, the said owners are hereby authorised to deduct the amount necessary to make good the injury, out of the next moneys due or payable to such workman after the said injury shall have been discovered; and if the said workman shall quit or be legally discharged from the said employment, he shall forthwith quit the said cottage, and in case he, or any of his family, or any persons who shall be in possession with his consent shall refuse so to do, it shall be lawful for the said owners or their agents or servants, or any of them, to enter into and upon the said cottage, and to remove and turn out of possession every person keeping the same, and all furniture and effects therein, without having recourse to any legal proceedings.

17th.—All penalties and forfeitures to be paid pursuant to these terms, shall be demanded and paid on the first pay day after they shall have been respectively incurred, and shall thereupon be deducted from the next following earnings or wages of the person incurring the same until fully paid; and if they shall not be demanded on such first pay day and deducted as aforesaid, or if they shall have been abandoned or omitted, they shall not afterwards be received, or enforced, or required to be paid.

18th.—All claims of any workman in respect of anything relating to these presents or their service under the same, shall be brought forward at the first pay day next after the cause of any such claims shall arise, and no such claim shall be brought forward in respect of any other cause, matter, or thing, which shall have occurred prior to such preceding pay day.

19th.—It shall be lawful for the said owners to supply the undersigned workmen with medicine, and medical and surgical attendance, house coal, such tools as are usually found by the owners for their workmen, to let them a tenement or any part thereof, and to advance the usual sum for the education of the said workmen and their children, and to deduct from the wages of the said workmen a reasonable sum for such medicine, and medical and surgical attendance, house coal, tools, rent of tenement, and education; but upon this contract being duly performed by the said workmen, and the tools being given up in good condition, the amount deducted for tools only shall be repaid to the said workmen.

20th.—It is hereby mutually agreed that in case any dispute or difference shall arise between the said hereby contracting parties, or any of them relating to any matter or thing not herein provided for, such dispute or difference shall be submitted to the decision of two managers of collieries, one to be appointed by the said owners, and the other by

the said workmen, and in case of their disagreement, to the decision of a third party, to be chosen by such managers before they enter upon the reference, and the judgment of such two managers, or their umpire, as the case may be, shall be conclusive between the parties on the matter referred to them.

21st.—Provided always that as to such of the workmen as are under the age of 21 years respectively, these terms and conditions shall only operate as a simple contract of hiring and service, and especially that such workman shall not be subject to any of the penalties and forfeitures hereby imposed.

22nd.—Provided always, and it is hereby distinctly agreed, that such of the said workmen as are under the age of 21 years respectively, are hereby hired by and with the consent of their parents or natural guardians, and that such contract is for their benefit, advantage, and support, and instruction in the art or trade of colliers.

23rd.—And it is hereby expressly agreed, that nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend to alter, prejudice, lessen, or otherwise affect the legal remedies, and the powers which by law relate to masters and servants in their respective relations to each other, or to magistrates having jurisdiction in cases of misconduct, or in case of dispute, or difference between them, and if anything is herein

contained which is not authorised by the provisions of any act of parliament to be introduced into a contract between owners of collieries and their workmen, this contract shall be read and construed as if such unauthorized thing had not been contained herein.

24th.—Provided always that in case any of the said workmen shall be desirous of leaving their service before the expiration of this contract, or in case the said owners shall be desirous of discharging any of the said workmen before the expiration of this contract, it shall be lawful for any of the said workmen, not exceeding ten in number, on any pay day to give to the owners one lunar month's notice in writing of their desire to leave; and it shall be lawful for the said owners to give to any of the said workmen, not exceeding ten in number, on any pay day, one lunar month's notice of their desire to discharge the said workmen, and at the expiration of the said notice, this contract shall, so far as regards the ten workmen giving or receiving such notice, be deemed to be at an end, except only for the purpose of enforcing its provisions up to the expiration of the said notice, and in the event of a greater number of workmen than ten giving notice to leave on one and the same pay day, the ten workmen who shall have given their notices first in point of time, shall be the only workmen entitled to leave pursuant to the notices given on that pay day, and the working places of the workmen so leaving, or being discharged as aforesaid, shall be examined by the overman or fireman in charge of that

part of the colliery in which such working places are situate, and if found to be in a bad condition, an estimate shall be made by the said overman or fireman of the cost of putting the working place in a good condition, and such cost shall be deducted by the said owners out of any money in their hands due to the workman so leaving his place in a bad condition.

25th.—Provided also that in case of any accident happening to any of the engines or machinery in any of the pits belonging to the said owners so as to render the same unfit for working, or should any of the colliers be laid off working from any cause whatsoever, or should they be required so to do, all the workmen, or such a number of them as shall be required by the said owners, or their manager, or agents, shall go and work in any other pit or colliery within a reasonable distance that the owners may require, and at such work as may be required.

26th.—And each of the said workmen agrees to obey all the lawful orders of the said owners, their manager or agents, in relation to their said service under them.

Owners.

MEMORANDUM OF MONTHLY AGREEMENT

Made this day of 1871, between
 the Owners of the
Colliery, in the County of Glamorgan, hereinafter designated
or described by the word "Owners," of the one part, and
the several other persons whose names or marks are hereunto
subscribed and hereinafter designated or described by the word
"Workmen," of the other part.

1.—The said owners will employ each of the undersigned workmen, and each of the undersigned workmen will serve the said owners from the date set opposite the names or marks of the said workmen to the end of the working month then running, and so on from month to month as regularly as the state of the trade, works, and machinery will permit, until this contract is determined by notice, as hereinafter mentioned, to cut, fill, haul, drive, and tram coals, work day-work, and do all such other work for carrying on the said colliery as they the said workmen shall be directed to do by the said owners, their manager or agents, at the respective rates and prices, and on the terms, conditions, and stipulations, and under and subject to the penalties and forfeitures hereinafter specified.

2.—The owners agree to pay the said workmen once a month, upon the accustomed day, and up to the preceding Saturday, the wages earned by them, at the following rates,

namely :—

* * * * *

And when any one of the said workmen employed for the time being as a collier shall be required to work day-work, he shall be paid per day of ten hours working at his working place.

3.—Such of the said workmen as are for the time being employed as colliers shall fill the trams with large marketable coal free from brass, bast, stone, ironstone, bad coal, shale, or rubbish, and in case any brass, bast, stone, ironstone, bad coal, shale, or rubbish shall be found in any collier's tram to the amount of twenty pounds, he shall forfeit and pay to the said owners the sum of , and for every thirty pounds , and for every fifty pounds , and if the whole quantity of brass, bast, stone, ironstone, bad coal, shale or rubbish, found in any collier's tram shall exceed ninety pounds, he shall forfeit and pay , but he shall receive the agreed price for cutting the good large marketable coal therein.

4.—Every workman when required, except when prevented by sickness, or other sufficient unavoidable cause, shall perform a full day's work of ten hours, and shall not leave work until such day's work is fully performed, and every workman who shall lose a day contrary to this rule shall be liable to a penalty of 2s. 6d. for each and every day so lost, and if he be unable to attend through sickness he must obtain and send to the said owners or their manager, a certificate from the surgeon

to the works that he is unable to attend from such cause, and if he fails or neglects to procure such certificate he shall be deemed to have committed a breach of this rule.

5.—When any workman is injured by a fall or otherwise, only the number of workmen actually necessary to take him home shall leave the colliery, and such number shall be ascertained and the workmen selected by the overman or fireman in charge of that part of the colliery where the accident happens.

6.—Every workman employed as collier shall put his mark on the side of the trams of coal that he may cut and fill.

7.—The manager of the said colliery may at any time prevent the use of gunpowder, either wholly or in part, and he may introduce and enforce the use of the Davy, Clanny or Stephenson lamp at his discretion, and he may introduce a larger or smaller tram at his discretion, paying, of course, by the ton weight for cutting and filling the same.

8.—That each of the undersigned workmen shall, when required, do the work of overman, fireman, timberman, collier, haulier, door boy, shifter, wasteman, hitcher, banksman, screener, furnaceman, or any other work that may be necessary or incidental to the proper working and safe conduct of the colliery, and shall be paid for such work, duly and well performed, the wages generally paid at the said colliery for such or similar work.

9.—The owners shall provide and keep at the colliery a weighing machine, and each and every tram of coal shall be weighed thereon, and if either the owners or their manager or the workmen shall be desirous of adjusting the weighing machine used at the said colliery, and of such desire shall give to the other party to this agreement a reasonable notice, an adjustment thereof shall take place in the presence of the weighman appointed respectively by the owners and by the workmen, and whenever such machine shall be found to be incorrect, it shall, with all convenient speed, be rectified, but not so as to interrupt the working of the said colliery, and no account shall be taken or claim made on either side for any error previous to such adjustment.

10.—Each workman shall be provided with a Davy lamp and mandrils, sledges, wedges, and bars, where required by the said owners, for which he shall be accountable to the said owners, but he shall provide himself, at his own expense, with all other necessary tools for working.

11.—Each of the said workmen employed for the time being as a collier shall work the coal so as to produce as much large marketable coal as the nature of the colliery will admit of, and shall wall, fill up, and gob up all the small coal, shale, and rubbish made in each collier's working-place, and shall work the coal by long work, narrow work, pillar, and stall work, double stall, or in such other manner as the said owners, their manager, or agents, shall direct, and in

every long work, stall, heading, cross-heading, or level, or deep, or rise heading, not less than two men, two men and a boy, or one man and two boys, shall work, and the workmen shall be answerable for the boys working with them, and shall see that they attend to and perform the special and general rules for the regulation of the colliery.

12.—Such of the said workmen as are for the time being employed as hauliers shall duly haul, drive and lead away such a number of trams of coal as shall be a reasonable, and a fair day's work, such day's work to consist of not less than ten hours, and to commence from the drawing of the first coal.

13.—If any workman shall disobey the orders of the said owners, or their managers, or agents, or commit any breach of the articles, in this agreement, then, and in every such case, the owners are hereby authorised to stop and to retain out of the wages next becoming due, and payable to each and every workman so offending, who shall exceed the age of 21 years, a sum not exceeding 2s. 6d. for every such offence; but nothing herein contained shall interfere with the jurisdiction vested in the magistrates with regard to any offence committed by such person.

14.—This agreement is made upon the express condition that if any of the undersigned persons shall leave the said

colliery before the proper termination of this contract, and without lawful excuse, or shall be rightfully or lawfully dismissed by the owners or their agents, for negligently or wilfully committing any breach of this agreement, or the general and special rules established for the safe guidance and regulation of the said colliery (a copy of all such special and general rules are hereby acknowledged to have been received), he shall absolutely forfeit the whole of the wages that he may have earned, and not actually received, although the whole, or some part of the said wages, may have been earned, or become due, or payable, before the said person shall have so left, or been dismissed as aforesaid.

15.—Every workman who shall occupy a cottage belonging to, or provided by the said owners, shall keep in good repair the glass in the windows of the said cottage, and shall not injure any part of the said cottage, further than the ordinary and necessary wear and tear, and if the said cottage be injured, the said owners are hereby authorized to deduct the amount necessary to make good the injury out of the next moneys due or payable to such workman after the said injury shall have been discovered, and if the said workman shall quit, or be legally discharged from the said employment, he shall forthwith quit the said cottage, and in case he, or any of his family, or any persons who shall be in possession with his consent shall refuse so to do, it shall be lawful for the said owners, or their agents or servants, or any of them, to enter into and upon the said cottage, and to remove, and

turn out of possession every person keeping the same, and all furniture, and effects therein, without having recourse to any legal proceedings.

16.—All penalties and forfeitures to be paid pursuant to these terms shall be demanded and paid on the first pay day after they shall have been respectively incurred, and shall thereupon be deducted from the next following earnings or wages of the person incurring the same until fully paid, and if they shall not be demanded on such first pay day and deducted, as aforesaid, or if they shall have been abandoned or omitted, they shall not afterwards be received, or enforced, or required to be paid.

17.—All claims of any workman in respect of anything relating to these presents or their service under the same, shall be brought forward at the first pay day next after the cause of any such claims shall arise, and no such claim shall be brought forward in respect of any other cause, matter, or thing which shall have occurred prior to such preceding pay day.

18.—It shall be lawful for the said owners to supply the undersigned workmen with medicine, and medical and surgical attendance, house coal, such tools as are usually found by the owners for their workmen, to let them a tenement or any part thereof, and to advance the usual sum for the education of the said workmen and their children, and to deduct from

the wages of the said workmen a reasonable sum for such medicine, and medical, and surgical attendance, house coal, tools, rent of tenement, and education; but upon this contract being duly performed by the said workmen, and the tools being given up in good condition, the amount deducted for tools only shall be repaid to the said workmen.

19.—It is hereby mutually agreed that in case any dispute or difference shall arise between the said hereby contracting parties, or any of them, relating to any matter or thing not herein provided for, such dispute or difference shall be submitted to the decision of two managers of collieries, one to be appointed by the said owners, and the other by the said workmen, and in case of their disagreement, to the decision of a third party to be chosen by such managers before they enter upon the reference, and the judgment of such two managers, or their umpire, as the case may be, shall be conclusive between the parties on the matter referred to them.

20.—Provided always that as to such of the workmen as are under the age of 21 years respectively, these terms and conditions shall only operate as a simple contract of hiring and service, and especially that such workmen shall not be subject to any of the penalties and forfeitures hereby imposed.

21.—Provided always, and it is hereby distinctly agreed that such of the said workmen as are under the age of

21 years respectively, are hereby hired by and with the consent of their parents or natural guardians, and that such contract is for their benefit, advantage and support, and instruction in the art or trade of colliers.

22.—And it is hereby expressly agreed that nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend, to alter, prejudice, lessen, or otherwise affect the legal remedies and the powers which by law relate to masters and servants in their respective relations to each other, or to magistrates having jurisdiction in cases of misconduct, or in case of dispute or difference between them, and if anything is herein contained which is not authorized by the provisions of any Act of Parliament to be introduced into a contract between owners of collieries and their workmen, this contract shall be read and construed as if such unauthorized thing had not been contained herein.

23.—Provided always that in case any of the said workmen shall be desirous of leaving their service, or in case the said owners shall be desirous of discharging any of the said workmen, the one shall give to the other of them one lunar month's notice, in writing, of their desire to put an end to this contract expiring on any pay day, and at the expiration of the said notice, this contract shall, so far as regards the workmen giving or receiving such notice, be deemed to be at an end, except only for the purpose of enforcing its provisions up to the expiration of the said notice, and the working places

of the workmen so leaving or being discharged as aforesaid, shall be examined by the overman or fireman in charge of that part of the colliery in which such working places are situate, and if found to be in a bad condition, an estimate shall be made by the said overman or fireman of the cost of putting the working place in a good condition, and such cost shall be deducted by the said owners out of any money in their hands due to the workman so leaving his place in a bad condition.

24.—And each of the said workmen agrees to obey all the lawful orders of the said owners, their manager or agents in relation to his said service under them.

Owners.

CHAPTER VIII.

1st July.—The firemen gave the masters a month's notice on this day. As the firemen are responsible officers, this was a difficult matter for the managers to deal with. The notices however were not general.

Associated Masters generally began giving notice "to quit" to colliers who occupied pit cottages. The masters had refrained from doing this earlier, in the expectation that the dispute would have been settled before 1st July. Considerable excitement prevailed on the giving of the notices, the carrying into effect of which a month later, caused indignation amongst the workmen, and the after result in the form of non-occupation of the cottages shewed that such evictions cut both ways. They were *expected* to aid in reducing the men to submission, but on the resumption of work the men profited from experience, and refused to occupy the cottages.

3rd July.—Associated Masters first suggested that North-umbrian miners should be brought into the district, and that one pit (at the expense of the Association) should be started as an experiment. Some of the masters were of opinion that the *offer to arbitrate* was somewhat vague in its terms; that a

further meeting should be held to more clearly define them, and, if not accepted by a certain day, a fixed per centage of reduction should be insisted upon.

4th July.—Men in great numbers finding employment in several directions.—Non-Associated Masters buying more horses, and producing increased quantities of coal.—Union contributions not being paid, and the threat to bring strangers causing dissatisfaction.

On this day Mr. Halliday, President of the Miners' Association, attended a delegate meeting at the Harp Inn, Mountain Ash. He stated that the number of Union men in the Valley of Aberdare, was in

January, 1871	...	...	...	...	306
February	...	...	...	...	310
March	...	...	...	...	725

and after the Union had decided upon giving notice

In May, the number increased to	...	...	2,868
In July over	...	...	6,000

shewing that the moment *aid* was wanted, they enrolled themselves in the Union. The only men who were really entitled to aid at the time of the strike, were those who were members in March—725, and Mr. Halliday enlarged upon the

fact that the Executive had sent to the Aberdare Valley £1,200. The 725 men volunteered to allow the £1,200 to be distributed amongst the entire number. He further stated that all of the men on strike in the Rhondda Valley were *new* members, and he was under the impression that they had paid nothing to the funds of the Union; but that the house-coal men in the Rhondda Valley were *old* members, and they not being on strike, had materially helped those who were. It would appear, therefore, from these figures, that the Executive of the Union were well aware when they induced the men to go on strike that not more than 725 of them would be entitled to relief, and that funds would not be forthcoming for the support of the entire body. By the admission of Mr. Halliday, the Union had only provided £1,200 during the five weeks for the sustenance of the workmen and their families, a sum, which divided amongst 9,000 men would scarcely exceed 6d. per head per week. Where had this money to come from, if not from the very men whom he had deluded into a strike, and sent to obtain work at a lower scale of wages in other districts?

July 5th, Wednesday.—Meeting of delegates and others, held at Aberaman last Monday night, when it was carried by a large majority, that the engineers *should be allowed to work*. This had reference chiefly to the action on the part of the firemen, who had given notice on the 1st of the month.

6th July.—Further reference made to the suggestion of bringing colliers from Northumberland. Copies of the "Rules"

for the government of the Amalgamated Association of Miners sent to the Associated Masters. The rules are thirty in number but reference need only be made to the first, in which these words appear :

“To assist districts or members when driven into an unavoidable strike ; or, when locked out, to make the hours of labour of all miners, not more than eight in the twenty-four.”

Agitation for the enforcement of this rule, would have the effect of restricting the production of coal, and of course the enhancement of the value of labour. The Union paid second instalment to-day, 2s. 6d. per man.—The miners and families very much dissatisfied, seeing that the Union is really not equal to the demand upon it. This instalment of 2s. 6d. was for a fortnight's subsidy, and out of it the workmen had to return sevenpence, as a levy.

July 7th, Friday.—Mr. Halliday states that he has had an interview with Mr. Elliot, and that the latter gentleman is the best master in South Wales ; but that he (Mr. Halliday) was not at liberty to state what passed between them. The men begin to suspect Mr. Halliday.

July 8th, Saturday.—Rumoured that the men at a meeting, had resolved to wait on their masters, to talk matters over.

Mr. Mordecai Jones (one of the Associated Masters), on this day, writes to the following effect :—

“I have had an interview with my men, and two of them have agreed to give me a price for the working of the two pits. I am to have their terms in the morning, and you shall hear from me by next post. They are most anxious to go to work.”

This letter was a preliminary step to an arrangement, made between Mr. Mordecai Jones, and two of the old colliers (Gad Davies and Morgan Davies, of Mill-street), that the latter should become for the time being, *contractors*, to re-open immediately, the Nantmelyn pits, and that these contractors should give the old rate of wages, *plus 5 per cent.* The arrangement was duly made—the pits re-opened, and public announcement made. Great rejoicings on the part of the men were the result; as it was, to their minds, an indication that the masters were at last giving way. The day before this arrangement had been made, it had been privately intimated to Mr. Jones that it was not competent for him to agree *separately* with his men, without the concurrence of the other masters, and on its becoming known that he had actually made the arrangement, and started his pits, a telegram was sent to him stating that he would be held liable for the penalty attached to such an act under the Associated Masters' Deed of Agreement, dated the 29th of May, 1871.

Mr. Jones immediately replied that he was not aware that he had infringed the agreement referred to; but, that having done so unwittingly, he would immediately retrace his steps. He did so, and closed the pits the next day. The stoppage was a severe blow to the men, and did much to strengthen the cause of the masters.

July 10th, Monday.—Men still finding employment at non-associated collieries and iron works. The endeavour to check this has been a complete failure. They are also obtaining agricultural, and other work, at a *lower* scale of wages, *rather than submit to the masters' terms.*

July 13th, Thursday.—Meeting of the Associated Masters held at Bristol, Mr. John Nixon in the chair, when it was resolved—

“That the offer to refer all matters in dispute between the proprietors and their men on strike to arbitration, made on the 14th of June last, be adhered to and repeated; or, in the alternative, the said proprietors do offer to resume the working of their pits at a *reduction of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.* on the prices paid during the month of May last, upon condition that both parties be bound to such arrangement for twelve months; but should the ironmasters of the Merthyr and Dowlais districts advance their prices

of labour during such twelve months, beyond the prices hereby offered, the coal proprietors shall give an equivalent advance."

It was also resolved—

"That this meeting be adjourned till Thursday, the 20th of this month, in order to afford the workmen time to give their definite reply."

A notice to this effect was duly published, and posted up at all the Associated collieries. In coming to this resolution, the masters were under the impression that, after taking into consideration all the varying circumstances between their work and that in operation at Dowlais and Merthyr, the difference in value amounted to $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—that the ironmasters had given 5 per cent. advance, practically reducing the difference to $12\frac{1}{2}$. The Associated Masters therefore resolved to adopt a moderate course and to declare a reduction of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which should be taken as a basis for adjustment of the differences, between their and the ironmasters' rates. At this meeting a further resolution was passed, appointing a committee to make inquiries with a view to importing workmen into the district. The only fault that could be found with this was, that it had not been done a month earlier. The masters were aware of the difficulty they would experience in obtaining an adequate supply of labour for the starting of three or four pits, and that a failure in their

endeavours, would entail the shewing to the old hands on strike, that the working of the collieries was entirely dependent upon them. It therefore behoved the masters to spare neither pains nor expense in accomplishing their object.

July 15th, Saturday.—The following two letters from miners, are fair indications of the feeling that prevailed amongst the old hands at this time. They were depressed, but firm in the conviction of the justice of their cause;—

“A MINER'S REPLY TO THE MASTERS' PROPOSALS.

“TO THE EDITOR OF THE ‘WESTERN MAIL.’

“SIR,

“In reply to Mr. Dalziel, secretary of the Masters' Association, of the 14th inst., we, as workmen, do not require a week to consider the subject; we have fully made up our minds since the 1st of May. Our just demand was 10 per cent., but we agreed to meet the masters half way, that is, 5 per cent., and do not intend to take less. We have not as yet accepted the basis of arbitration made on the 14th of June last. We are willing to commence work on the above conditions, that is, 5 per cent., and nothing less. As regards the North men coming, we have no objections; we should be likely to discover the difference between the horse and the mule. Being a reader of the London papers, I find there was a free emigration from the East End of London to the North of England. Do men rise up in one night like mushrooms that they could be packed up next day? Perhaps you are

not aware that gentlemen have been sent from the North to South Wales to try to get men (you may judge what for)?

“THOMAS LEWIS.”

“No. 11, Hill Street, Aberaman.”

“A WORKING-MAN'S VIEW OF THE STRIKE.

“TO THE EDITOR OF THE ‘WESTERN MAIL.’

“SIR,

“As colliers, we are greatly indebted to you for the various suggestions which you were pleased to give from time to time in the columns of the *Western Mail*, and I am only sorry that we have not been able to comply as yet with, or to act upon, either of these suggestions. The double-shift system we have always been against, and the masters well know our views and reasons for not adopting it. As to the masters' last proposal of allowing us to resume our work at a reduction of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., I am afraid my fellow workmen will not accept it; and judging from the state of the coal market, as reported in the *Colliery Guardian*, I am convinced that the reduction would be very unfair, indeed. However, I have this to say, that always, and particularly at present, the masters and men have been kept too far apart from each other. There is no sympathy between us. We allow that they have their agents to communicate their views and decisions to us, but we have no one to convey our views to them—no redress whatever, save through the columns of your valuable journal, which one-half of us are unable to understand. Are the masters ashamed to own us

as their workpeople? Are they unable to express their views in such common language that we could understand them without the interference of others? Now, Mr. Editor, in closing this letter, I beg most humbly to express not only my own, but the opinion of the majority of the workmen in this district, that the masters should consent to receive a deputation of colliers, say at Cardiff, and the general opinion is that an amicable and firm settlement would be made in less than an hour, and the strike brought to an end. I write this at the request of many of my fellow-workmen.

“JOHN GRIFFITHS.”

“Treherbert, July 15th.”

Meeting of colliers held this day at Mountain Ash, when the majority were on the point of agreeing to seek their late masters, and endeavour to make terms, when several *Roughs* broke in, and upset the meeting.

At other places, workmen waited on their masters, to discuss the question, but they still adhered to their demand for 5 per cent. They do not believe the masters will be able to obtain workmen in other districts. On this day a third instalment of £861 13s. 8d. paid to 5,307 workmen, being at the rate of 3s. 2d. per man for a fortnight's subsistence.

July 18th, Tuesday.—Meeting of delegates at the Harp Inn, Mountain Ash, to-day—determined in its tone—men still express confidence in Mr. Halliday and the Union, saying that the

masters of the non-associated collieries, and the ironmasters, on the 1st of June last all gave 5 per cent. advance, and that as the produce of *their* pits competed in the same market with the produce from the pits of the Associated Masters, they are at a loss to understand why the latter gentlemen cannot as well afford to pay the advance as the former. They seem to lay stress upon the fact that the masters were holding themselves aloof from any discussion with their workmen, and that such statements as had been made by the masters were *not printed in Welsh and properly distributed*. This meeting further threw out a suggestion, and a very crafty one it was, viz. :—"That the masters should unite *their* three Unions representing STEAM, BITUMINOUS, and IRONMASTERS' COAL, and that when so done, the rate for cutting every description of coal should be uniform." They well knew that such a scheme was impracticable, for several reasons: first, there being neither house coal, nor ironmasters' Unions; next, that the cutting price of bituminous coal was considerably higher than that of steam, because of the general thinness of the bituminous measures, but chiefly because the conditions under which the several veins of steam coal were found, varied so considerably in all the districts, that uniform rates of cutting could not be otherwise than unjust, both to masters and men, but also because it was contrary to common sense. The delegates knew this very well, but they merely threw out the suggestion as a lure, whereby to catch public sympathy, under the supposition of shewing a desire to meet the views of their hard-hearted masters! Of course, no notice was taken of this.

July 19th, Wednesday.—The offer of the masters to accept from the workmen their labour at a defined reduction, seems to have caused irritation, and for the time being, rendered them somewhat more determined to maintain their position, and watch the effect of the masters' attempts to bring strange men into the district. They believe the masters will not succeed in getting men.

July 20th, Thursday.—General meeting of the Associated Masters.—An influential deputation appointed to wait upon Mr. Clark and Mr. Menelaus, of the Dowlais Company, the Gadlys' Company, and Mr. Fothergill, respecting the employment of men. The Gadlys and Dowlais Companies received the deputations, but the result did not warrant the expectations of the coal trade.

CHAPTER IX.

July 21.—The old hands not having made any reply to the offer of the masters within the time specified, the colliery proprietors resolved that the entire association should be formed into a committee. Five to be a quorum. Sittings to be daily, and attended either in person, or by representatives duly authorized in writing. The committee to—

“Direct all matters in connection with the importation of labour and that they be empowered to accept all responsibilities in connection therewith, on behalf of the association This to apply to all matters relating to the cost of production and sale of the produce of those pits which shall be set to work with the imported labour.”

It would be impossible to speak in too high terms of the manner in which the Committee exercised their daily functions during the several weeks that this anxious and harrassing affair lasted.

Previously to this meeting, overtures had been made to Paul Roper, of No. 69, Greencroft, Bilston, for the engaging of Staffordshire miners. He was introduced, and two agreements duly drawn up in the following terms :—

[MEMORANDUM.]

CARDIFF,

July 20, 1871.

I agree with Mr. Alex. Dalziel, Secretary of the Cardiff Coal Association, to find 300 men and boys—200 to be received on Tuesday, the 1st of August, and the other 100 by Tuesday, the 8th of August; the men to be good, practical miners, and to be brought to Aberdare and Rhondda as shall be ordered; the men to sign a bond before going to work, and when they are at work their wages to be 6s. per day for good and practical colliers; 3s., about, for lads. The bond engaging the men and boys shall stipulate for a period of service of not less than three months.

his
PAUL + ROPER.
mark
ALEX. DALZIEL.

[MEMORANDUM.]

CARDIFF,

July 20, 1871.

It is agreed between Mr. A. Dalziel, the Secretary of the Cardiff Coal Association, and myself, that I am to receive a commission of six shillings per man for each workman that I can bring from Staffordshire into the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys. The commission to be paid, one half when the men are delivered, and the second half at the end of a month from the arrival of the men.

his
PAUL + ROPER.
mark
ALEX. DALZIEL.

It was arranged that the *first* batch of men should be sent to Navigation Colliery, and that, should a sufficient number be subsequently obtained, the following pits should be started in the order in which they are placed ;—

Powell Duffryn ...	}	Aberdare Valley.
Blaengwawr ...		
Bwllfa ...		
Ocean ...	}	Rhondda Valley.
Cwmsaebon ...		
Abergorki ...		

Later on, this arrangement was modified.

July 21st, Friday.—From the best sources of information open, the masters have been led to believe, that by one iron-master alone, between 500 and 1,000 of the old hands have been engaged. Many of these men have had *money advanced to them to enable them to bring their families and furniture, so as to become permanently settled.* Letters from members of the coal trade complaining of this, were openly read to the workmen at the pit head. Nothing further can be done, but for the coal owners to submit to the position imposed upon them, by the half-hearted friendship of those ironmasters who *volunteered* to refrain from engaging the workmen, and thereby became parties to the cause which led the coal owners to meet a strike.

July 22nd, Saturday.—For the purpose of obtaining surface labour, to carry out the necessary operations of supplying the

engine works with small coal, &c., &c., it was suggested that the trimmers of coal on board ships in the port of Cardiff, should be transferred temporarily to the collieries. It was ascertained that of these men there were, in the

Regular gangs	...	...	...	369
Hobblers	...	...	...	<u>150</u>
In Cardiff and Penarth	...	...	...	<u>519</u>

Fully one half of these men were engaged in the trimming of bituminous coal, coke, iron, and the steam coal sent from the non-associated collieries. It will be seen that this was but a poor resource for any practical benefit; moreover, many of the trimmers whom it was supposed that the colliery owners should have influenced, positively objected to go to the collieries, fearing that they would not be safe amongst such numbers of disaffected colliers. Not more than 30 or 40 went up, and stayed for a fortnight. They were very useful for the time being, *but their sympathies were with the colliers.*

July 24th, Monday.—On this day deputations from the masters went into Staffordshire, and Cornwall and Devonshire, to make arrangements for the procuring of labour in these counties. The first deputation, to Cornwall and Devonshire, met with very indifferent success. Receiving an introduction to Capt. Godden, an unemployed manager of tin mines, and a very respectable man, they arranged that he should procure a number of men to proceed to Wales, on the following conditions:—

"Confirming our verbal arrangement with you relative to the engagement of miners for various works in Glamorganshire as required by the South Wales Steam Coal Collieries Association, we hereby agree for and on behalf of the said Association, to pay you a commission of twenty shillings per man, for each person you may engage on the conditions of the printed form of agreement settled between us last night. It is understood that, the commission will be payable upon the men commencing work in accordance with the terms of the said printed agreement, and we further engage to pay all reasonable out of pocket travelling expenses, which you may incur in superintending the transit of the miners to their destination. It is further understood that the travelling expenses of the men you engage, will be paid by the Association from their homes to the works, and also of such members of their families as may be engaged for service at the works."

Captain Godden in the following hand-bill :—

"500 MINERS WANTED, AND OTHER GOOD ABLE BODIED MEN. Capt. W. Godden, will be at _____ to engage the above for the collieries in the South of Wales, guaranteed wages four shillings per day. Contracts to be let by which good wages may be earned; house, firing and garden provided, with passage, free to the mine, (without provisions), for well conducted workmen and their families. For full particulars, apply to Capt. W. Godden as above"—

requested a number of Cornish miners and others to meet the

deputation. A numerous party responded to the invitation, and after hearing all the arguments adduced in favour of the proposed new employment, were on the point of offering their services, when, in the very midst of a discussion, a miners' delegate arose, and asked if "naked lights" were used in the Aberdare and Rhondda pits. On being answered in the negative, he cautioned the miners present to have nothing to do with the deputation. That he had worked in Wales, and had seen hundreds of dead bodies brought from the pits, where they had been slaughtered by the noxious gases given off from the steam coal!

This remark had a crushing effect upon the meeting. Cornish miners, as a race of workmen, are exceedingly timid about bad air. The meeting broke up and left the deputation disappointed. Their movements had been watched, and the efforts of the Union officers went far to neutralize the endeavours of Captain Godden and the deputation. The following handbill stared them in the face everywhere:—

"SOUTH WALES COLLIERS' STRIKE.

"TO THE MINERS OF CORNWALL."

"Fellow Workmen! The Aberdare, Mountain Ash, and Rhondda Valley miners are on strike to the number of 12,000. The masters are trying to reduce their wages 2s. 6d. in the pound. Be careful! do not break up your homes under the influence of fair promises. If you could render them some assistance, try to appoint two or three of your own men, send all money by post office orders, and oblige the

Aberdare committee. P.S.—Address all letters to Mr. David Morgan, Secretary, Check Weigher, No. 20, Club Street, Aberdare; or, Mr. James Nicholas, Treasurer, Royal Exchange, Cardiff Road, Aberdare.

“The following has been drawn up and published in order to make it clear what they now want:—

‘All we are standing for is the 5 per cent. only. The masters have thrown out indirectly that the 5 per cent. is *not* what they object to, but something else; probably the regulations of the works, most likely. We here beg to state that when we have the 5 per cent., that all the regulations referred to will be done away with, and we (the men) wish to be recognized as an association, as we are doing and have done for their (the masters) society, as unionists.’”

The deputation of masters went from place to place, and at the end of a week returned home little satisfied with the result of their journey. They left Captain Godden full instructions to follow up their steps, and send batches of men forward as rapidly as he could get them together. He faithfully carried out his mission, and brought men over, as will be seen later on. They were engaged on this form of agreement:—

AN AGREEMENT, made this	day of
, one thousand eight hundred and seventy one,	
between	as acting agents

for the general committee of the South Wales Steam Coal Collieries' Association, hereinafter called the said agents, on the one part, and the undersigned on the other part.

The said agents hereby agree to hire and engage the said
and he, the said agrees to serve
in such colliery, in the county of Glamorgan, as may be directed
by Mr. Alexander Dalziel, of Cardiff, for the term of twelve
months.

During such period of twelve months, the said
hereby agrees to work under the direction of the manager of
such colliery, as he may be engaged in, as hewer, filler,
drawer, or putter of coals, or to do such other work as may
be necessary in connection with such colliery, either under-
ground or on the surface.

In consideration of such service well and faithfully per-
formed, the said agents engage that the said
shall be paid during the first three months of service at such
colliery, in addition to house rent and firing, at the rate
of per working day, and he, the said
at all times during the existence of this agreement, agrees
to conform to the rules and regulations in practice at the
colliery in which he may be engaged.

At the expiration of three months, or earlier if mutually
agreed, the said undertakes to work at the
rate of wages paid at the colliery for such description of
work as he may be directed by the colliery manager to
perform.

It is further agreed on the part of the said
that he will proceed on the day of 187 ,
to such colliery as may be directed, and commence work
according to the terms of this agreement on the day following
his arrival.

Witness to the signature of the said
for the above mentioned Agents.

July 25th, Tuesday.—On this day, the other deputation
commenced its operations with Paul Roper, whose hands it was
necessary to strengthen. He had already on the 21st July issued
the following handbill :—

“WANTED IMMEDIATELY, ABOUT 500 GOOD, STEADY,
PRACTICAL MINERS at six shillings per day, for nine hours.
One hour allowed for refreshments, they will also be paid for the
day they go down to the colliery. Wages six shillings per
day for the first fortnight, for good miners, about three shillings
for lads ; at the expiration of that time to be paid in tonnage
at the same rates as will be paid to the old hands at the
collieries. Every man to be engaged for three months certain.
Good lodgings will be provided, and refreshment, until com-
plete arrangements are made. All miners wishing to improve
their position may do so, by a speedy application to

“MR. PAUL ROPER,

“Mine Agent, 69, Greencroft, Bilston.

“July 21st, 1871.”

The Union ever on the watch, immediately posted a placard, to checkmate Mr. Roper:—

“MINERS! The bill of Paul Roper, stating that 500 miners are wanted, IS ALL DECEPTION. They are only wanted for a few weeks in South Wales, where 9,000 men have been on Strike for eight weeks. Miners of South Staffordshire! stay at home, and the South Wales miners’ case is sure.

“WILLIAM BROWN,
Miners’ Agent.”

Roper in turn posted up another, which had a good effect upon the Staffordshire miners, amongst a certain class of whom, he seemed to exercise a considerable amount of influence:—

“COLLIERS FOR SOUTH WALES. The Union agents are spreading a false report to the effect that the colliers would only be wanted for a week or two, while the truth is that an agreement will be made with each collier before starting, for three months certain, at six shillings per day of nine hours, with one hour for refreshments, with option on his part to work by tonnage for better wages, at end of first fortnight, or at any other time during the three months. These colliers too, will have a preference of work to settle for good at the collieries where they may go to work, and where comfortable domestic accommodation is obtainable. The first special train for South Wales will leave Bilston at three o’clock, on Tuesday afternoon, the first day of August. Applications to be made to

“PAUL ROPER,

“July 29, 1871.”

“69, Greencroft, Bilston.”

The Union finding that Staffordshire was the county to which the Associated Masters looked for the chief supply of men, made great efforts to spoil the work of Roper and the deputation. Numbers of meetings were held, at which Roper and the deputation, as opposed to the miners' delegates, had a fierce conflict. The one party to induce, and the other to prevent men from coming to Wales.

These two handbills will evince the kind of feeling displayed by the Union delegates against Roper :—

“IMPORTANT NOTICE TO THE MINERS OF SOUTH
STAFFORDSHIRE.

“Seeing that the Coal Masters of South Wales have resolved to import foreign Labourers into the Aberdare and Rhondda Valley districts, and that there are bills issued in Bilston offering work to 500 miners at 6s. per day, the Executive of the Amalgamated Association of Miners take the present opportunity of informing the working men of South Staffordshire that the miners of South Wales have struck work against an unjust encroachment upon the rights of their labour, and they earnestly request all miners to take no notice of any servile persons that may be employed to go about the country trying to engage men on the pretence of securing good wages, as wages are very low in South Wales, and should the employers succeed in defeating the men by importing miners from other districts, it will seriously affect the prices of labour throughout the whole country.

"A deputation from the Executive of the Miners' Association will address public meetings through South Staffordshire, when further explanations will be given.

"All miners and the public are requested to attend the meetings, of which due notice will be given."

"MINERS OF STAFFORDSHIRE!

"How long have you known Paul Roper? Can you rely upon his statements, who sent miners from Staffordshire into Lancashire in 1866-7? Was it Paul Roper who sent miners from Bilston and other places into Church Gresley (Derbyshire)? Was it Paul Roper who sent miners into the Barnsley district (South Yorkshire) in 1869-70? Was it Paul Roper? Miners, are you aware how much Paul Roper receives per head for all miners he can send into South Wales? Will you become commodities for Paul Roper? Ask Paul Roper how many police officers are at Mountain Ash, awaiting the arrival of miners from Bilston? Ask Paul Roper what is the reason of the police officers being there? Miners! 9,000 men are out in South Wales, and is not Paul Roper engaged by the coal owners to secure men to take the places of those on strike in South Wales? Why should the coal owners reduce their men 2s. 6d. in the pound, in the midst of a good trade? Miners, don't go into South Wales? Keep away, and let the poor men resist the employers. The employers cannot crush the poor men if you keep away. Don't go, miners, but be advised by

"Yours respectfully,

"WILLIAM BROWN,

"Miner's Agent."

Roper in fact, is the anti-type of the miners' delegate. The latter creates a strike, and Roper professes to break it! The one deludes the colliers, and lives upon their earnings, the other fleeces the masters. To give Roper his due, he worked hard; he got three hundred or four hundred men together, and but for the watchfulness of the Union (which the masters did not take sufficient pains to elude), would have succeeded in sending one thousand. As it was, owing to the excitement, and general disturbance of the men by the miners' delegates, only the roughest, and unskilled Staffordshire miners came into Wales, the better class of men being afraid to trust themselves in small numbers in the "strike district." Roper led the men solely by glowing promises. An uneducated man, he could not proceed in a *methodical* and *careful* manner to engage them. The following conditions were printed, and at the end of five days left with him by the deputation :—

"ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT made and entered into this day of July, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, between the undersigned colliers, each hereby undertaking and agreeing for himself of the one part; and

Agents of the South Wales Steam Coal Collieries Association of the other part. The said parties severally agree :—

THAT the said colliers severally undertake and agree to proceed to South Wales, on by such railway train as shall be provided.

That the said colliers agree to commence working in the getting of coal, or other incidental work as may be ordered by the agents or officers of such pit or pits, into which they may be put to work.

That the said colliers agree to strictly obey all the published rules and regulations of such pit or pits, for the proper and safe conduct thereof.

That the said colliers agree to work each working day, for a period of three months, from and including the day of departure to South Wales.

That the said colliers being good practical workmen, shall be paid at the rate of six shillings for each full day's work of nine hours, well and duly performed; also lads from fifteen to sixteen year's of age, at about three shillings a day.

That the said agents shall give every facility to the said colliers, to remit part of their wages home to their families from time to time.

That the said agents shall pay the railway fare and other expenses of the said colliers down to South Wales, but should any one of such colliers be guilty of misconduct or any breach of this agreement before expiry, he shall be discharged without notice, and the railway fare and other expenses deducted from the balance of his wages due, at the discretion of such agents.

That the said colliers agree not to become members of any Miner's Trade Union.

July 28th, Friday.—In the Aberdare Valley, the delegates had not been idle. They saw that the masters were about to carry out their threat of bringing strangers into the district, and great efforts were made to keep up the spirits of the men on strike. The following handbill was freely distributed :—

“TO THE MINERS ON STRIKE IN SOUTH WALES.

“GENTLEMEN,

“The following is a correct copy of a bill which is circulated in South Staffordshire and other places:—

“‘Wanted immediately, about 500 good, steady, practical miners, at 6s. per day, for nine hours, one hour allowed for refreshments. They will also be paid for the day they go down to the colliery. Wages, 6s. per day for the first fortnight for good miners; about 3s. for lads; at the expiration of that time to be paid in tonnage, at the same rates as paid to the old hands at the colliery. Every man to be engaged for three months certain. Refreshments and good lodgings will be provided. All miners wishing to improve their position may do so by a speedy application to Mr. Paul Roper, Mine Agent, 69, Greencroft, Bilston. July 21st, 1871.’

“Dear Friends in South Wales, you will have some idea by the above what is going on in South Staffordshire, but

you have nothing to fear. Respectable men will not come into South Wales; nothing but the very scum of the country will put their feet upon your soil. Be firm, and your success is sure. You have proved yourselves men in every sense of the word. Stand firm. *Don't be downhearted.* We will stop all we possibly can. Take courage, and may God help you.

"By order of the Committee,

"Yours most respectfully,

"(Signed)

"WILLIAM BROWN.

"SAMUEL SAMBROOKS."

The excitement at this time became intense, at the prospect of the strangers coming. The police force was strengthened in the various villages. A strong body was concentrated at Mountain Ash, where the first miners from Staffordshire were being employed.

July 29th, Saturday.—The Union on this day paid its fourth instalment of 4s. 6d. per man, being for one fortnight's subsistence money. The amount was £846 3s. 11d., distributed amongst 3,882 men. It was thus raised:—

Levies and donations from the Aberdare district.	£139	4	4
From the Central Fund in England...	...	600	0 0
Levies and donations from the Rhondda district.	104	10	6
Cash in Treasurer's hands ...	...	24	9 1
		£868	3 11

It is evident from this, that although the claimants have been reduced from 9,222 to 3,882, the subsidy to the unemployed had not even yet approached a reasonable sum for subsistence.

The colliers now began to look upon the approach of strangers as a settled thing, and meetings were held in several districts to discuss the course of action to be pursued under the circumstances. One meeting held at the Bruce Arms, Mountain Ash, enjoined upon the colliers to preserve the peace. It is instructive to read the following report of this meeting :—

“The object of the meeting, as explained by the chairman, was to encourage each other to be FIRM, and, above all, to be peaceable; and whatever may be their fate, to take care that they did not transgress the laws of the land. One of the speakers observed that he was sure all of them would behave so well, that even if strangers should come this strike would be looked back upon, and spoken of, as the Evangelical strike, owing to their good behaviour under such tempting circumstances. Several persons addressed the meeting in Welsh and English, and the following resolutions were passed :—

“1.—That a public meeting be held at the Lamb and Flag, Aberaman, on Saturday evening, August 5, 1871, at seven o'clock p.m., when all the underground firemen in the Aberdare valley are respectfully invited to attend.

“2.—That we are determined to stand FIRM for the five per cent., but that all the old hands who wish to resume work at their respective collieries are to have the privilege

of doing so; and that there shall be no signment for any time, but that we are willing to go per market price, as we have been doing for a great number of years.

“3.—That a vote of thanks be given *to all employers for giving work to us in the present crisis*, and to all workmen for receiving us so kindly, and contributing towards those who are still out of employment.

“4.—That a vote of thanks be given to the Amalgamated Association of Miners, and to all their officers and the executive, for using all their influence to prevent strangers coming to South Wales, and for their general support.

“At this stage of the meeting a letter was read by Mr. E. M. Jones, which he had received from Chilsworth, Cornwall, to the effect that there were three colliery managers (or delegates) in that county advertising and soliciting men to come to South Wales—conditions, four shillings per day, house and fire free for three months, and stating that old colliers were earning twelve shillings per day, and that they are at present standing out for five per cent. more of the profit.

“Many of the men declared that they would like to know where were those parties referred to, twelve shillings per day men, or even five shillings per day all the year round.

“The other resolutions were as follow:—

“5.—That we urgently request men, women, and children, to be careful *not* to infringe the laws of their country, providing strangers should come.

"6.—That we ask the *Western Mail* to be so kind as to let the following advertisement appear in its columns."

From another of these meetings emanated the next hand-bill, that had apparently for its object, a somewhat deeper motive : that of alarming the new comers by the state of the pits, which were probably to some slight extent, out of repair since the cessation of work :—

"Sir,

"The masters are about importing foreign labour into their collieries here, and in one sense we are glad of the event, for, as well-wishers of the masters, we greatly feel that the state of the workings, as caused by the present strike, must be very bad indeed, and every day adds to the injuries done the collieries and the trade of the district. Now we may state, and let it be known that we here are quite willing for the masters to import foreign labour ; and we will not oppose them in the least, providing the masters will give us (their old workmen) our discharge, and withdraw the 'black list,' that we may obtain employment elsewhere. As we gave a proper month's notice, we ought to be at liberty to start working in whatever place we may get a chance, and no one has any right to send a 'black list' of our names to the different collieries.

"We are, yours truly,

"THE COLLIERS OF TREHERBERT DISTRICT."

The 'black list' referred to, was really never issued, the names of the workmen on strike were not handed round to the different collieries, so that the men were free to go into *other* districts, although it is perfectly true that every endeavour was made to prevent their obtaining employment in the immediate locality.

Taking into consideration that, such a mass of workmen who had cast themselves out of employment, were greatly excited and irritated at the near approach of the strange workmen, it cannot but be said that great credit is due to them for their peaceable conduct, and reiterated resolutions, calling upon their fellow workmen to preserve the peace.

The masters' arrangements for the reception of strangers, were not the most perfect of their kind. They were "rough and ready." The eviction of the old colliers from the cottages, in accordance with the legal notice given them, had not been strictly enforced; consequently, the lack of house accommodation had to be supplied by the temporarily fitting up of schools, repairing shops, and such like, as dormitories, lavatories, and refreshment places,—hospital fashion.

As the turn of events proved, it was just as well that the strange workmen had no better accommodation afforded them, and that the old hands were not evicted, for, as the new hands did not permanently settle in the district, wholesale evictions would only have still further embittered the feelings between the parties. As it was, employers had difficulty in subsequently

prevailing upon their workmen to occupy colliery cottages. The men have a wholesome fear of eviction, and naturally prefer to occupy other cottages, however inconvenient, than be subject to the disagreeable possibility of being turned out. In any future strike, masters should turn their attention more particularly to this feature, and before serving notice to quit, calculate whether upon this particular point at least, the men will not have the best of it.

August 1st, Tuesday.—At midnight, a special train of six carriages containing 145 colliers, arrived from Staffordshire, accompanied by Paul Roper, and two or three of the associated masters. They were divided thus :—66 men and boys were sent to Nixon & Co.'s Navigation Colliery, and 79 to Powell's Lower Duffryn. About sixty additional were ready to come, but the miners' delegates were not idle, and an indescribable confusion took place at the Bilston station, in Staffordshire, on the departure of the workmen. Numbers were influenced by the delegates to remain behind. Considerable amusement was caused at the various railway stations at which the train halted on its way to Mountain Ash. Paul Roper had provided them with good cheer, and there was much uproarious mirth on their road. On their arrival at Mountain Ash, everything was prepared for them according to bargain; good food, good beds and bedding, and as a temporary arrangement, they could scarcely have desired any better. In order to prevent disturbances, strong bodies of police under the command of Col. Lindsay, Chief Constable of the County, and Superintendents Thomas and Matthews, were stationed in the

respective yards. As another precaution, the Mountain Ash Volunteers were requested to give up their rifles and bayonets. Many were colliers, and those who sympathized with them. Although it was the desire of the masters that the men should bring their wives, not more than six or seven women accompanied the strangers. At so early a stage, the workmen stated that they would prefer waiting to see how the employment suited. This was not the true reason.

Notwithstanding the good intentions of the old hands to keep the peace, crowds of men and women lined the railway and stations, at Mountain Ash, to greet the strangers with hisses and groans. Mr. Halliday and Mr. Macdonald were on the spot to enjoin them to be orderly. No more hostile demonstrations, however, took place, and during the sojourn of strangers in the district, the only disturbances caused were by the wives of the old colliers, but they were of so trivial a nature as not to be worth recording. Mr. Macdonald created a good deal of amusement amongst the old hands at this time by remarking—"That the strangers being guarded by police was nothing new to them; for that they had spent their lives in that relation to the police!"

August 2nd, Wednesday.—The next morning the firemen, who are generally supposed to be the most reliable officers of the pit, expressed their sympathy with the old hands in a practical manner, by handing in their lamps, and refusing to go down the pits with strangers. Of course, such a step only brought forth a more determined energy on the part of the managers. The firemen were summoned

before the magistrates for deserting their employment. From time to time the magistrates remanded them, but the especial object of the firemen was gained—that of depriving the employers of their services. The surface and underground overmen for awhile shewed a lukewarm endeavour to aid their masters, but there was no dash—no real pluck about it. *In any future Strike the Masters should see to their Officers.*

The new hands began to work, or rather it should be said, they pretended to do so, and for about a fortnight to three weeks, they continued a course of idleness, which the masters winked at, considering what was at stake. The production of coal was wretched; they were exceedingly careful that their wages were duly paid on the Saturday night, and in one instance where it was deferred (from some trifling dispute), until the Monday morning, they refused to go down the pits. No arrangements were made *to retain a portion of wages* as an earnest of good work. All their acts tended to the conclusion that they would not become permanent workmen, so that the only probable service the masters foresaw as likely to arise from this importation of labour was, the breaking of the strike. At this stage, Lord Elcho and Mr. G. Elliot, M.P., had several discussions as to the best mode of terminating this serious conflict, and agreed to consult Messrs. Macdonald and Halliday (the representatives of the workmen), who were in London watching the progress of the Mines Regulation Bill. After this consultation, it was arranged that Mr. Elliot should invite his colleagues to meet

Messrs. Macdonald and Halliday and the delegates at Bristol, Mr. Elliot promising that, whether his colleagues attended or not, he would be there to discuss, and if possible, arrive at some basis for the settlement of the dispute. Owing to some misapprehension on the part of the coalowners, Mr. Elliot was the only employer present at the conference, the other proprietors objecting strongly to the interview on the grounds that their meeting the delegates to discuss the question would be but the recognition of the irresponsible agents, an act which the coalowners were far from desiring.

Mr. Elliot endeavoured at this interview to limit the discussion, to the views previously stated by the Coal Owners, viz., that the work should be resumed, and the dispute referred to arbitration. Messrs. Macdonald and Halliday supported Mr. Elliot in this respect, and thus the conference became the turning point of the strike.

August 4th, Friday.—The men were dissatisfied because the meeting at Bristol was not a general one, they believed there was a split in the masters' camp, and that some were disposed to adopt independent action. In this they were wrong, although the annexed letter from Messrs. David Davies and Co. encouraged them to think that they were right:—

“THE MASTERS' ABSENCE FROM BRISTOL
EXPLAINED.

“TO THE EDITOR OF THE ‘WESTERN MAIL.’

“SIR,

“In the delegates' account of their meeting with Mr. Elliot at Bristol, given in your paper to-day, it is implied that the other masters ought to have attended with Mr. Elliot, to meet the deputation of colliers. Speaking for ourselves, we can only say that no request was made to us to meet our men; otherwise we should have shown, as we have always done, the greatest readiness to meet them and discuss the points of difference between us. Nor, so far as we can ascertain, were any of the masters asked to meet their men.

“In regard to the letter signed ‘A Man on Strike,’ also in your paper of to-day, it would certainly appear that stoppages resulted from ‘scarcity of vessels and boisterous weather (so far as the coal shipped is concerned), presence of too much gas in the workings, repairs of ventilators, fans, or ventilating flues, falls, &c., on the main roads, skedaddling of door boys, adjusting weighing machines, and accidents to men,’ must be applicable to the ironworks as to the collieries. But if there be, as there well may be, any advantage which the ironworks have to offer their men which the collieries do not possess, such points are fair things to be considered by an arbitrator, who, in his award, would give full effect to these matters. As to ourselves, we have had no stoppages during the two

years preceding this dispute, except such as have been caused by the men themselves. There has for this time been continuous daily work at our collieries.

“Yours respectfully,

“DAVID DAVIES & CO.”

“Ocean Steam Coal Offices,
“Cardiff, August 5, 1871.”

The slight difference of opinion between Mr. Elliot and the other coal owners as to this meeting was easily explained and adjusted. The men were much pleased with Mr. Elliot for meeting them, and they were just as much displeased with the other masters for not doing so.

August 5th, Saturday.—The men from Staffordshire having commenced to produce coal, it was resolved—

“That the cost of production by the strangers be paid by the Association, and all coal so produced be sold by the Secretary for the benefit of the Association.”

The committee of the coal trade deputed to certain gentlemen connected with the trade, the task of managing the importation of the men from the various districts of Staffordshire, Yorkshire and Cornwall. Their endeavours were successful, as will be seen hereafter.

August 7th, Monday.—For North Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Scotland, other gentlemen were deputed in like manner, but as their endeavours were unsuccessful, nothing further need be said thereon.

Although the old hands kept the peace, and vaunted very much of their doing so, there were incidental to this Strike, as has been usual in nearly all others, *anonymous* threats of violence and disturbance, of which the following letter, addressed to Mr. J. C. Fowler, stipendiary magistrate for Merthyr, and published in the "Western Mail," is a fair specimen :

"THREATENED RIOT BY THE WORKMEN.

"Mr. Fowler.

"August 5, 1871.

"Sir,

"I send those few lines to inform you that we have had a general committee throughout South Wales, and have decided to make a collection to keep the colliers that is out of employ, and we intend keeping them with provision till the latter end of next summer if they require it. We intend sending to the Government to understand whether it is lawful for the coal proprietors to stop the colliers from other works, as they are providing to cause a riot by sending their old workmen from their houses to have men from other parts of the country to work under price. Please take this note to the bench of magistrates for they to have their decision over the matter should a riot take place; as we are afraid it will be the cause of a great many lives lost. You are aware

that the riflemen, artillery, and volunteers are all of the working class, and all is one with us. We don't think it is required by the Government for the police to assist the turncoats, but leave the coal proprietors to assist them themselves. Please send to the proprietors and caution them before something worse takes place. As soon as we have an answer from the Government, all the Colliers from the hills and valleys will come and visit your brave fresh Colliers.—We are, yours respectfully,

“THE COMMITTEEMEN OF SOUTH WALES.”

August 8th, Tuesday.—This morning, Mr. Fowler, the stipendiary magistrate at Merthyr, gave his decision with respect to the conduct of the firemen who had deserted their employment, and as it is one which has an important bearing upon coal mining, it is given in full:—

“I wish to make my decision quite clear to the three defendants. It is admitted that they were working under a monthly contract of service as firemen, and that on July 1st they duly gave a proper notice to put an end to that contract. About a week after that time they had a meeting with Mr. Brown, the manager, and Mr. Bevan, the under-viewer, in the storehouse. There they were treated to some beer, but there is no reason to suppose that they had too much. At that meeting, it is quite clear and certain to my mind, that they all withdrew the notices which were given a week before. This is plain from their own very fair evidence,

particularly that of Jenkin Evans. The effect of that withdrawal was this:—It cancelled or did away entirely with the notices, and consequently no legal notice could again be given till the commencement of the next working month. The contract and all the duties under that contract on both sides would continue, and are now continuing, until some legal way is found to put an end to it. I wish the defendants to bear in mind that on the one part Mr. Brown is bound to find them work and wages, while on the other they are bound to be ready to perform their work till the contract is lawfully ended. I will now notice the points brought forward by Mr. Simons for the defendants. He said most truly that if the contract is not in writing, a workman cannot be sued for not entering upon the service under it. But that is not the charge in the present summons. The defendants are charged with absenting themselves from their service on which they had previously entered, and while the contract is still unexpired. Mr. Simons suggested that when the notices were given on the 1st of July, the then existing engagement was terminated, thereby subject to the duty of serving and working out the month, and that the withdrawal of the notice was equivalent to a new contract which must be in writing before the parties can be proceeded against for not entering upon the service. I answer that was quite within the power of the three defendants, with the consent of the employer, to cancel their notices; that they were then in the same situation as if they had never given notice, and the notices were

so completely sponged out and gone that they could have no effect whatever on the contracts. This could certainly be done by mutual consent. Mr. Simons also contended that the contract, which I say had new life put into it by the withdrawal of the notices, was different from the old contract. I agree that if it were so, it would be a new contract, and ought to be in writing. But the evidence, very candidly and honourably given, as I said before, by these men, does away with this argument. It is evident that no new work was put upon them. Sixteen years ago this argument was addressed to me, I believe, by the same learned advocate, in the case of the Dowlais puddlers. A sudden change was made in the quality of the iron served out to them, and it affected the wages of the workmen. I then decided that they were entitled by law to stop working without notice, as they did. But, to-day, I have no such evidence of any change. It may indeed be said that when they said 'We withdraw the notices on condition that everything remains as it is now,' they might have referred to the introduction of strangers. But the fact is, that strangers were not mentioned in the conversation. The talk was about some unusual duty in clearing falls, and it was agreed that they were not to be required to do that. It is possible that in their thoughts they may have referred to the coming of strangers, but it is impossible for me to regard that silent thought as a condition or stipulation, because it was not expressed. I have a clear and decided opinion on this matter, and I speak without doubt or hesitation, and I am bound to give effect

to my decision. But I see and feel the difficult situation in which these men are placed. I hope they will go to work, and spare me the pain of enforcing my decision further. They say they are afraid of 'the mass.' I ask them what have the mass done to make them afraid? The mass have behaved during the strike in a manner which does them great credit. Peace and tranquillity have been perfectly preserved under trying circumstances. I suppose the mass will read or hear these words. I say to the mass, 'Remember, that by this decision I place these defendants under the obligations of their contracts, while you, the mass, are perfectly free from yours. I exhort you, then, to let these men feel and understand that you will not trouble them to break their contracts. Let them have fair play and liberty to do their duty in the difficult situation in which they stand, between the demands of the law and the contracts on one hand, and the strike on the other hand. I feel for their difficulties myself, and so ought you to do.' I shall now adjourn this case till next Tuesday, in the hope that any further measures may be unnecessary."

Mr. Fowler was unwilling to inflict any punishment upon the men, considering the trying position in which they had been placed. He, therefore, deferred judgement in the hope that the firemen would return to their work, which in the course of a few days they did.

Certain of the masters were temporarily alarmed at the disturbed state of the district, and there was some talk about sending for the military, but the storm blew off. No necessity existed for such extreme measures.

August 9th, Wednesday.—Two parties of men arrived in the district to-day, the one from Bilston by train, and the other by steamer from Cornwall. Roper had written that his party would consist of about 100 men, and they were duly apportioned. On the arrival of the train at Pontypool, it was discovered, and at once telegraphed to Cardiff, that more than 200 were on the way. This necessitated a complete change in the disposal of the men. There were sent to

Bwllfa Colliery	...	...	93
Navigation Colliery	...	...	57
Lower Duffryn Colliery	...	...	59
			209

At each of these pits the accommodation was insufficient for the immediate reception of such numbers, and, taking into consideration the difficulty about firemen and other officers, at the lower pits, it will be readily understood that affairs were drifting into a mess. At the Bwllfa pit, in order to keep so many employed, the pit had to be kept at work night and day; three shifts of eight hours each.

On the same night there arrived at Cardiff, by steamer, sixty-eight men, and a number of women and children. It had been telegraphed to Burnham, that these men should be held back for a day or two, but at the time of the arrival of the telegram, they had actually embarked. At eight p.m., the steamer arrived at Cardiff, *without the slightest preparation*

having been made for the reception of the men. For the night they were lodged in the Sailors' Home, and the surrounding public-houses. Next day, they were sent to Messrs. D. Davis & Sons' Ferndale colliery, in the Rhondda Fach valley.

August 10th, Thursday.—Fifteen men sent by Paul Roper, arrived from Staffordshire. Eleven were set to work at Navigation colliery, and the other four ran away.

August 11th, Friday.—Thirteen additional men arrived from Staffordshire, and went on to Ferndale colliery. In view of the rapid arrival of strangers, and of the colliery proprietors not having house-accommodation for them, application was made to Messrs. George Insole and Son, whether they would be willing to secure a fixed number, in order to start the Abergorki pit. Those gentlemen accepted the offer, but with the conditions that the coal brought by those strangers should belong to Messrs. George Insole and Son, and not to the Association; that Messrs. George Insole and Son would pay all expenses in bringing the men, agents' commission, &c., &c., but that they would not agree to pay any proportion of the general expenses of the association, nor would they at this late stage, become parties to the bond, which held together the Associated Masters.

The meeting, in view of the advantage to be gained by getting strangers to work and starting the pits, and further, that the Associated Masters' pits were *not* in position to receive the rapidly

increasing numbers of men ready to come forward, accepted Messrs. Insoles' offer, notwithstanding its disadvantageous terms. As, however, the committee were able to defer the arrival of the strangers for a few days, the arrangement with Messrs. Insole was not acted upon.

CHAPTER X.

THERE had been symptoms during the past few days that the men were thoroughly disheartened at the meagre aid which the Union had afforded them, and also at the determined action of the masters in bringing strangers to the district. It was therefore with no surprise that the masters read in the "WESTERN MAIL" the following letter :—

"TO THE COALMASTERS 'OF THE ABERDARE AND
RHONDDA VALLEYS.

"GENTLEMEN,

"It appears by the letter of Messrs. D. Davies and Co., in the 'WESTERN MAIL' of Monday, that they, together with many more of the other masters, knew nothing whatever of the proposed meeting at Bristol, at which no master but Mr. Elliot, M.P., attended. If such is the case, we, as colliers, should feel very happy to meet our different masters in a meeting again, so as to try to discuss matters over concerning this disastrous strike ; and undoubtedly, if we were only to meet—say in Cardiff, Mountain Ash, or ABERDARE—we are sure the strike would be brought to a close at

once, for we, as colliers, do candidly believe that if we and our masters were only to meet face to face, you, as masters, would surely feel and draw towards us, and we, as men, would feel and draw towards you, and all things, we are sure, would be settled amicably. Hoping to hear from you through the 'WESTERN MAIL' of to-morrow, and that you are willing to meet us at a meeting, either at Mountain Ash or Aberdare, as, of course, either of these two towns is more central and less expensive for us, as colliers, to attend; and we have not the least doubt but what you will surely condescend to come among us,

"Yours,

"COLLIERS ON STRIKE."

Although anonymous, the meeting attached importance to this letter, believing that from the recent steps taken by the masters, and the present temper of the men, that the latter were wishful to make terms. Instructions were therefore given to the Secretary to write the following letter so as to hold out hopes to the Colliers, that an application from them through the respective managers, for an interview with the masters, would be granted.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'WESTERN MAIL.'"

"Sir,

"Observing a letter signed "Colliers on Strike" in your impression of to-day, I may safely say that the colliery owners have been, and are yet prepared to receive deputations from

their workmen, upon receiving through the colliery managers an intimation of their desire to that effect.

"I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

"ALEX. DALZIEL, Secretary."

"South Wales Steam Coal Collieries' Association."

"Cardiff, 11th August, 1871."

This was followed by another letter of a similar purport from Messrs. David Davies and Co. :—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'WESTERN MAIL,'

"Sir,

"If the 'colliers on strike' be desirous of meeting their masters, as would appear from their letter in the 'Western Mail' to-day, let them send an authorised deputation to the respective colliery managers, with a request to that effect, and we feel confident that such a meeting could be arranged without difficulty.—Yours &c.,

"DAVID DAVIES & CO.

"Ocean Collieries, Aug. 11, 1871."

August 14th, Monday.—The gentlemen who had been deputed to go to Yorkshire, and confer with Mr. Bowry, as to the best means of engaging men in that district, accomplished their object, and it may here be said, that this was the most successful mission undertaken by any of the deputations, and moreover, the men so engaged, were handled with more tact at Ferndale, than at any of the other three pits.

At the expiration of three months, or earlier if mutually agreed, the said workman undertakes to work at the rate of wages paid at the colliery for such description of work as he may be directed by the colliery manager to perform.

It is further agreed on the part of the said workman that he will proceed on the day of 187 , to such colliery as he may be directed, and commence work under this agreement the day following his arrival.

Witness to the signature of the said
for the above mentioned Agents.

August 14th, Monday.—At night there arrived at Ferndale Pit, in the Rhondda Fach Valley, 58 men, 15 boys, 25 women and young children. They brought their furniture, with the evident intention of becoming permanently settled in the district.

On the very day when these people arrived, a large party of the Staffordshire men, after fraternizing with the old colliers, left the Lower Duffryn and Navigation Pits, and returned home. During the next few days, the remainder also left. A more disastrous event could not well have occurred at this juncture. The old hands were deciding upon applying to their masters for an interview, with the object of settling the disputes by arbitration. They had seen enough of the strike, and the Union, which, by the way, now made a fifth instalment, this time of 6s. 3d. per man.

The reasons assigned by the Staffordshire men for leaving their employment so suddenly, and contrary to bargain, were—

1st.—“That they had been deceived, not being aware when they came down that the old hands were out on strike.

2nd.—“That they were annoyed at being heaped together about the works, and guarded by police day and night.”

There had been no deception as to the old hands on strike. A perusal of the handbills will shew, that both Paul Roper and the miners' delegates, had taken care that the Staffordshire men should *not* be left in the dark, on this point.

Considering that there were few or no women with the parties, and that those few were well cared for, the domestic arrangements were, for temporary purposes, better than they could have expected. They had been told that gradually they would have been removed into separate, and distinct cottages; in fact, several had been. That they had been guarded by police, was a matter they should have been grateful for, and the majority before coming, had made a distinct condition with Paul Roper that they should be guarded. Everything that could possibly be converted into a weapon, had been held by them in immediate readiness, lest an attack should be made by the old hands. The TRUE reasons for their leaving, were:—That the managers of the pits were commencing to restrain the feasting, and to require, that

for the liberal wages paid, at least some fair portion of work should be done. This they had no intention of performing. They promptly resolved to leave the place, and did so.

It might be asked why did not the masters compel them to remain, and serve for the period of three months, according to the agreement? The answer is all sufficient. Paul Roper asserted that the majority could not write, and if they could, the hurried manner in which they had been despatched to South Wales prevented their doing so. Had they signed the bonds, those documents would in all probability have proved valueless.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of this experiment, the Associated Masters were determined to continue their endeavours to import new men from *other* districts, not only with the view of impressing the old hands that the masters had made up their minds to win the battle, whatever the cost or inconvenience, but, that in the future, there should be laid open to the collieries of South Wales new fields of supply, whence might be derived men to fill up the ranks of those who, from Emigration, and other causes, might leave this district. There could be no doubt as to the soundness of this policy. The endeavours in this direction were conducted with more care and less demonstration than in former instances.

As, during the ensuing week, the entire body of strangers left the Mountain Ash and Bwllfa collieries, it is just as well at this point, to make a concluding statement with regard to them. The men from Cornwall and Yorkshire were of rather a better

stamp, and they remained at Ferndale until the 9th of October. The old hands would not blend with the strangers. This is to be regretted, as many of the Yorkshiremen were able fellows, and would, in greater numbers, have made a valuable acquisition to the district. For leaving at a period earlier than the expiration of their bonds, the Associated Masters paid those men their expenses homewards, viz. :—twenty five shillings for married men, and fifteen shillings for single.

Particulars relating to the strange Colliers imported.

Collieries.	Numbers and Dates of Arrival.	From whence.	Numbers and dates of leaving.	Average number of days engaged.	Tons of Coal wrought by them.	Average Tons per day.
Lower Duffryn	1871. 1 August 79	Stafford	1871. 9 Aug. 18 ran away.	19	725..19	38
	9 " 59		13 " 31 } 14 " } 21 paid off. 19 " } 23 " 68			
Navigation	1 " 66	"	9 " 2	19	629..1	33
	9 " 57	"	10 " 4 ran away.			
	10 " 15	"	13 " 30 } 14 " } 85 19 " } 23 " 17			
Bwllfa	9 " 93	"	23 " 94 } paid off.	11	117..0	11
Ferndale	10 " 1	Cornwall.	6 Oct. 94	8	372..18 } to 22 Aug. }	46
	10 " 53	"	9 " 123			
	11 " 2	"	10 " } 2 remain.			
	11 " 13	Stafford				
	16 " 1	Cornwall				
	17 " 43	York				
	18 " 11	"				
	19 " 2	"				
	495		495		1844..18	

There is nothing to be proud of in making the foregoing statement. The result so far as the actual work was concerned, was miserable in the extreme, but there is something to be said in defence of these strangers. They laboured under disadvantages

of no ordinary character. Notwithstanding the bravado evinced at the out-set of their engagement, those professional "strike-breakers" soon lost heart. On entering the colliery villages, they invariably received the cold shoulder. *The Shopkeepers to a man refused to supply them with a single article*, and even the masters themselves had difficulty *in the immediate neighbourhood*, in being supplied with any goods for strangers. There was much suppressed rancour in the minds of all classes towards those strange men. If any of them had mining skill (which is to be doubted), the excitement and exceptional state of affairs rendered them utterly unfit to do that amount of work, which at home they might have been fairly competent to perform.

It has already been said that the introduction of strangers had created a marked effect upon the old hands, who were now seeking to obtain a general conference with their late masters. Delegates were appointed from each colliery to wait upon the managers, to express a desire that such an interview should take place.

CHAPTER XI.

August 15th, Tuesday.—A general meeting of the coal trade, numerously attended, was held at the Royal Hotel, Cardiff, Mr. George Elliot, M.P., in the chair. The following nineteen colliers attended as a deputation, to confer with the masters :—

NAMES OF WORKMEN.	COLLIERIES.
Henry Thomas	Abercwmboy
Wm. Edwards	Navigation
Daniel Williams	Deep Duffryn
David Morgan	Lower pit, Lower Duffryn
Thomas Phillips	Upper pit do.
David Jones	Middle Duffryn
Noah Jones	Lletty Shenkin
Thomas Price	Cwmbach New pit
William Rosser	Ditto Old pit
Edwin Price	Cwm Dare
Gad Davies	Nantmelyn
Daniel Jones	Blaengwawr
William Hopkin	Aberaman
John White	Ditto
William Davies	Cwm Neol
John Jones	Ferndale
John Morris	Ocean Ton pit
Evan Jones	Ditto
Daniel Mainwaring	Ditto

Mr. Elliot invited the workmen to open a discussion. Henry Thomas, the miners' delegate from Abercwmboy, a very intelligent man, and one who throughout was exceedingly temperate in his language, commenced by stating that the men had asked for 10 per cent., *not that they had expected to get it*, but that they had hoped for a compromise of 5 per cent.; that they were prepared to accept arbitration if *all* bases were removed, so that the arbitrator would be left to his own discretion (*i.e.*, an open arbitration); that the workmen would then urge the rates paid at the house coal pits, and at the non-associated steam coal pits. He voluntarily admitted that the workmen were wrong in asking arbitration *as to the question of 5 per cent. only*, but in the men's opinion, the masters were equally wrong in seeking an arbitration on so low a basis as the rates paid at the Dowlais, Cyfarthfa, and Plymouth Iron Works.

Another speaker alleged that on the whole, rates were not higher in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys than in the aforesaid iron works; on the contrary, the workmen were better off at the iron works with *apparently* lower rates.

Mr. Elliot, on behalf of himself and the other employers, then stated the case from the masters' point of view; how that the coal trade had been for a long time in a state of depression; that the iron trade being equally dull, the markets had been glutted with coal, produced at rates of wages considerably below those current in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys.

After further discussion, the workmen expressed themselves willing to accept arbitration—

“Provided, that the bases would embrace rates paid at all the surrounding districts, and Monmouthshire, house coal included.”

The deputation withdrew for awhile, until the masters considered the proposition. After deliberating on the offer made by the men, and fully recognizing that an acceptance of it would entail their taking into account a wider scope of wage rates, some of them considerably higher than their own, and others in the western part of the county considerably lower, they agreed to recall the deputation and accept their offer with some slight modifications.

It was not without misgiving on the part of some of the colliery proprietors that they consented to waive the proposition made on the 14th of June, to arbitrate on the basis of *the rates paid by the ironmasters in the neighbouring Merthyr Valley*. But, the majority being unwilling to throw obstacles in the way of negotiations which were bidding fair for a settlement, the June resolution was put aside.

On the return of the deputation, the discussion was renewed, and finally, both sides agreed to arbitrate, and the terms were duly announced in the “WESTERN MAIL” of the following day:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'WESTERN MAIL,'

"Sir,

"At a meeting held to-day, at the Royal Hotel, Cardiff, a deputation, consisting of nineteen colliers representing the majority of the workmen on strike, had an interview with the masters, and, after discussing the differences in dispute, the deputation made an amended offer to submit those differences to arbitration, but they desired to alter the basis upon which such arbitration should be effected, viz. :—'*That the rates of wages shall be governed by the rates paid for similar descriptions of work at all the other collieries at which steam coal is raised in Monmouthshire and South Wales.*' The masters agreed to accept this proposition, and the deputation withdrew, after undertaking to see their fellow-workmen, with a view to gaining their consent to the proposition made on their behalf. The meeting was adjourned till Friday next, at 9.30 a.m.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"ALEX. DALZIEL, Secretary.

"South Wales Steam Coal Collieries' Association."

"Cardiff, 15th August, 1871."

Although the foregoing letter mentioned the *basis* of the proposed arbitration, it did not give (nor was it intended that

it should give) a *full* copy of the agreement. That document was not signed by either party, because its terms had to be submitted by the deputation to the colliers in mass meeting. Nevertheless, the members of the deputation undertook to exercise their personal influence, in obtaining the approval by the colliers. The following is a full copy:—

“WHEREAS, disputes and differences, as to *rates of wages, duration of hiring, mode of working, and other matters* having arisen between the proprietors and the colliers, and other workmen connected therewith, it is hereby agreed that all such matters in difference shall be referred to the arbitration and award of and their umpire, provided that *in fixing the rates of wages and prices*, the arbitrators and their umpire shall be governed by the rates paid for similar descriptions of work at other collieries raising steam coal in Monmouthshire and South Wales. And that such arbitration shall be proceeded with and concluded in conformity with the provisions of the Common Law Procedure Act of 1854.”

It is to be regretted that this full copy of the foregoing agreement did not appear in the papers. Had it done so, misapprehension as to the masters' sincerity in the later negotiations would have been saved. Reproach was thrown upon the masters by the leading articles of the “WESTERN MAIL,” which led public opinion on this question, and subsequently by the miners

themselves, for endeavouring to depart from the terms of this agreement. How unfair these reflections were will be seen further on.

The masters' meeting stood adjourned until 9.30 a.m. on the following Friday, the 18th of August, 1871, so as to give the deputation the opportunity of obtaining a ratification of the agreement by the colliers.

August 17th, Thursday.—A mass meeting of colliers was held on the Aberaman Mountain, to consider what had been done at Cardiff by the delegates. The Colliers ratified the agreement, and a deputation was appointed to proceed to Cardiff and meet the masters on the following morning, and conclude the arrangement. The colliers were doubtless influenced in coming to this decision, by the late influx of strangers from Cornwall and Yorkshire. They were aware that the Staffordshire men were returning home, but the late arrival, and the masters' capability of, and determination to swell the number of the strangers, had a marked effect upon the old hands. They jumped at the opportunity of returning to work upon any reasonable terms.

August 18th, Friday.—The adjourned meeting of the masters took place. The following 30 colliers attended as a deputation;—

NAMES OF WORKMEN.	COLLIERIES.
Henry Thomas	Abercwmboy
Wm. Edwards	Navigation
Daniel Williams	Deep Duffryn
David Morgan	Lower Pit, Lower Duffryn
Thomas Phillips	Upper pit do.
David Jones	Middle Duffryn
Noah Jones	Lletty Shenkin
Thomas Price	Cwmbach New Pit
William Rosser	Ditto Old Pit
Edwin Price	Cwm Dare
Gad Davies	Nantmelyn
*Rees Davies	Ditto
Daniel Jones	Blaengwawr
Jno. White	Aberaman
Wm. Hopkins	Ditto
Wm. Davies	Cwm Neol
*Wm. Davies	Ferndale
*David Jenkins	High Duffryn
*Wm. Mullicot	Forchaman
*Evan Jones	Bwllfa
*Lewis Morgan	Abergorki
*Job A. Phillips	Bute Merthyr
Daniel Mainwaring	Maindy Ocean
*Thomas Matthews	Ditto
*W. Francis	Pentre
*Joshua Woodliffe	Ditto
*Bethuel Haycock	Bodryngallt
*John Gibbon	Dinas
*David Williams	Cwm Park
*Joseph Andrews	Ditto

*These 14 men did not attend with the first deputation.

Henry Thomas and others addressed the meeting, to the effect that they had been duly authorized by the mass meeting to accept arbitration as adopted at last Tuesday's meeting; *but, that they objected to the terms of the deed of submission.* They desired the assistance of a solicitor, and therefore Mr. T. H. Stephens, of Cardiff, attended on their behalf. Mr. Benjamin Matthews, of Cardiff, solicitor, attended on behalf of the masters.

The objections raised by the deputation were, to the following words being maintained in the "Agreement to refer," viz. :—

"DURATION OF HIRING,
MODE OF WORKING,
AND OTHER MATTERS."

It cannot be too clearly stated, that the colliers were departing from their own agreement of the previous Tuesday, in seeking to alter the conditions. Whether they had good grounds for so doing, was quite another matter, but it is necessary to shew that the onus of the alteration lay with the men, and not with the masters, upon whom public censure fell for the subsequent failure of negotiations.

It was alleged by the colliers, that there existed between themselves and their masters, no *other* dispute excepting that which related to the *rates of wages*, and therefore, they desired to expunge

"DURATION OF HIRING,
MODE OF WORKING,
AND OTHER MATTERS."

In reply, the masters stated that, inasmuch as the men had given due notice, and left their employment, it was perfectly competent for either party to bring forward for consideration, and mutual arrangement, any grievance beyond the immediate dispute upon which the two sides had joined issue. The colliers acknowledged the force of this argument, and *again* agreed to the insertion of the objectionable words.

A fresh difficulty arose. They were keen-witted enough to see what the effect of these words might be, and therefore, they pressed for their being included within the "PROVISIONAL CLAUSE." Had this been agreed to, the scope of the arbitrators' award would have been limited to the customs, and practices of mining in Monmouthshire and South Wales.

The masters had expressed no very decided views with respect to the terms—

"DURATION OF HIRING,
MODE OF WORKING,
AND OTHER MATTERS,"

but, they were actuated by a latent desire to bring about improvements, both in the mode of working and the general conditions of "Hiring Bonds," alluded to on the 30th June last, page 55. The practices and customs of other districts, in the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan, not being more favourable for mining enterprise than those prevalent in Aberdare and Rhondda, the Associated Masters

decidedly objected to the placing of the words within the "Provisional Clause," because the so doing would practically have nullified them.

The colliers finding that the masters would not allow the words to be so practically nullified, broke off all further discussion. The sitting occupied from 9.30 a.m. until 11.30 p.m. After fourteen hours' discussion, it can scarcely be a matter of surprise, that, the negotiations having proved fruitless, irritation was evinced on both sides.

There was no *real* intention at the moment, to introduce any other *mode of working*, such as the "double shift," which the workmen dreaded, nor to press for the twelve months' bond system of hiring, as practised in Northumberland and Durham. The motives which actuated the masters in standing so firmly to the terms agreed upon at the meeting of the previous Tuesday, are only to be explained in this wise—that they would have preferred to introduce both customs, more especially that of the "double shift," as tending to diminish the risk to life and property, if, upon the award of an arbitrator, such a course being recommended, the masters and men should subsequently agree to adopt them.

There would have been a slight difficulty in embodying such an arrangement in the "Agreement to Refer," and no attempt was made to do so, owing to the colliers' deputation having expressed in decided terms, their repugnance to both customs. Before the meeting had broken up, the masters with a view to conciliation, offered to interpret the clause "duration of hiring," as meaning

the period during which the wages to be fixed by the arbitrator, should remain in operation *subsequent to the award*, and that at each pit, workmen to the extent of five per cent. of the entire number, should be at liberty to leave monthly; the masters being at liberty to discharge a similar number in case of need. This suggestion was thrown out by the masters, with a view to the stability of affairs; that neither party, however much dissatisfied, should, on the declaration of the award, have the power to re-open the dispute and commence a "strike" or "lock out." This was a liberal interpretation, and one that should have commended itself to the workmen; but they in return candidly admitted, that in case of the award proving unsatisfactory to the colliers, the latter *intended* to renew the dispute! With opinions so diametrically opposed to each other, it will be readily imagined how the discussion came to an end without agreement.

At 11 p.m., the resolution recorded by the masters, was—

"That this meeting regrets that the offer of arbitration, made by the deputation of the colliers at a meeting on Tuesday last, should have been rendered unsuccessful, in consequence of the deputation to the present meeting objecting to discretionary powers being left in the hands of the arbitrators."

August 19th, Saturday.—This morning there appeared a leader in the "Western Mail" which greatly roused the indignation of the masters. It was written upon the assumption of the masters being entirely to blame for the failure in the negotiations, by reason of

their endeavouring to alter the form of agreement. The information furnished to that paper by the deputation of colliers was in these words :—

“ We are, however, in a position to state that a document prepared by the masters was submitted to the men for signature ; but inasmuch as the terms of it were considered by the latter party not to be in accordance with the basis of settlement accepted by the mass meeting of colliers held on the Aberaman mountain on Thursday, the delegates were reluctantly compelled to refuse accepting it.”

Now, this information was simply false, as the reader will have seen by the preceding pages. The masters, no doubt, ought to have given in *their* version, but the lateness of the hour, and the protracted character of the discussion, led them to believe that the following day would give ample time for making a careful and well digested statement of the proceedings. The workmen having come to Cardiff, with a pre-determination *not* to carry out their previous agreement, which had been ratified by the mass meeting at Aberaman, were in a position to supply the “ Western Mail ” with a programme of the proceedings, written in a spirit of hostility to the masters, and utterly untrue as to the incidents of the day. Of course, the editor of that paper could but judge from the information furnished, and his leader was couched in such a manner as to create a strong public feeling, antagonistic to the masters. It may be instructive that the leader referred to should here be inserted :—

"The public will learn this morning, with infinite disappointment, that the meeting in Cardiff yesterday, which was expected to result in a formal confirmation of the propositions arranged on Tuesday, and agreed to at the mass meeting of colliers at Aberaman, on Thursday, has ended in a miserable failure. The meeting, which was a private one, lasted for more than twelve hours, and, as may be imagined, the result, which involved such tremendous issues to the whole of South Wales, was waited for with the utmost anxiety. Notwithstanding the length of time occupied in debate, the point upon which the negotiations were brought to an unhappy conclusion, appears, so far as it is possible at present to see, to lie within a very narrow compass. The resolution of the masters, as it has been communicated to us, alleges that they were unable to agree to the proposal of arbitration, on account of the deputation from the men objecting to the proposition that 'discretionary powers should be left in the hands of the arbitrators.' It will be observed that the resolution says nothing as to the nature of the 'discretionary powers' which the masters propose to be thus left open. But we have a distinct statement on this point made on behalf of the men, *and we are bound to accept it until we receive very full and satisfactory evidence that it does not represent the real facts of the case.* The delegates say, and they appeal to the records of the meeting in proof of their averment, that the 'discretionary powers' which were demanded, consisted in a proposal to extend the basis of investigation as to the wage-rate, from Monmouthshire and South Wales to

the whole of England. We think there can be no doubt that the former basis of the arbitrators' enquiry was that which was agreed to at the meeting on Tuesday, and the best proof of this can be found in the fact that this limitation in area was embodied in the printed paper which was yesterday produced by the masters as a statement of the results of the meeting. *Assuming*, therefore, that such was the understanding on Tuesday, and also, as is stated by the men, *that it was departed from yesterday*, we have no hesitation in saying that, in regard to the conduct of this meeting, the masters have been guilty of a grave error, which very materially damages the strength of their position. We say this without the slightest fear of being misunderstood. Throughout the whole of this struggle we have maintained that the only reasonable method of fixing the wage-rate in the colliery proprietors' pits, was by comparing them with that paid in other pits where a similar description of work was being done. We have expressed this opinion long before the men were induced to come round to the same view, and at a time when its expression exposed us to the most sweeping charges of want of sympathy with the colliers. But we now desire to point out most emphatically that no wider area of investigation than that comprised in Monmouthshire and South Wales was ever publicly proposed until yesterday. Whether such an extension of area is desirable or not is entirely beside the present question. Up till Tuesday last, it was perfectly open for the masters to make the proposition, and we should then have been prepared to consider it. But even admitting, for

the sake of argument, that such a proposition would have been a perfectly fair and just one, we maintain that, by bringing it forward at this late hour, the masters have wantonly ship-wrecked the fair prospect of a conclusion to the strike. The delegates who attended at the meeting yesterday, came to Cardiff empowered to agree to certain proposals, and at the eleventh hour, a new condition was inserted into the terms of treaty. The impropriety of doing so, is quite apart from the abstract justice of the proposition, but it will have an effect on the conditions of the dispute none the less disastrous. It cannot but happen that the men who have been thus disappointed, will experience a keen feeling of annoyance, for which, up to the present time, they had no cause. It is quite true that, as far as the general question is concerned, things remain just as they were, but we fear that there will be added to the already sufficient complications of the case, a bitter sense of injury, which will increase the difficulties of a future settlement."

This unfortunate leading article was written, as has been said, upon the incorrect information afforded by the colliers, who were disappointed at the failure of their endeavour to confine the inquiry of arbitrators to the limited area of Monmouthshire and South Wales, on the questions of—

"DURATION OF HIRING,
MODE OF WORKING,
AND OTHER MATTERS,"

Mr. Halliday, the President of the Union, was at this time in Cardiff, and in continual consultation with the colliers. During the masters' meeting with the deputation, the latter retired several times to study the position. This they did with Mr. Halliday, who was annoyed by a refusal that he should be present at the discussion with the masters, the latter having refused in any way to recognise the Union.

It is, therefore, easy to trace the motive which dictated the biased statement handed in to the "Western Mail," well calculated as it was, to mislead public opinion, and to embitter the feelings of the entire body of colliers then on strike.

The masters directed that the following letter should be addressed to the editor of the "Western Mail," and that large placards to the same effect should be distributed freely in all the colliery villages in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys:—

"SIR, .

"In reference to the leading article contained in your journal of this day, it is not correct as stated in that article, that this Association yesterday departed from the 'terms' handed to the men on Tuesday last. The masters were, and still are, content to be bound by every word contained in the terms of submission to arbitration then made, and which, as appears by your journal, were confirmed by the mass meeting held at Aberaman on Thursday; but instead,

the deputation attending yesterday, insisted on introducing into the *proviso* contained in the 'terms,' the question of 'duration of hiring' and 'mode of working.' In consequence, it became necessary to have the words Monmouthshire and South Wales excluded.

"Let the men accept the agreed terms of Tuesday and the matter is at an end.

"This is mentioned as the article in your journal wholly misrepresents the conduct of the masters yesterday, and it is right that the public should clearly understand the true state of the case.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"ALEX. DALZIEL, Secretary.

"South Wales Steam Coal Collieries' Association,
Cardiff, 19 August, 1871."

August 21st, Monday.—The publication of this hand-bill was said to have excited the old hands, who, being anxious to resume work, and believing that the conditions upon which they should do so, had really been arrived at on the previous Tuesday, did not now approve of the action pursued by the deputation, in further "trying it on" to improve those conditions. They

exercised a strong pressure upon the members of the deputation, in order to get the matter settled without delay. The masters on their side naturally feeling aggrieved at the conduct of the deputation, and seeing that large parties of men had been engaged, and were only awaiting orders to come forward from Yorkshire, Staffordshire, and Cornwall, took a firm stand, and resolved at their meeting on this day, to refuse to settle with the old hands on any other terms than those agreed to on the previous Tuesday. They further resolved that in case the colliers accepted the form of agreement and went to work at certain pits, whilst at certain other pits the men did *not* agree, and therefore did not go to work, then, that the produce of the pits which had been set to work, should be sold for the benefit of the association, which should pay for the cost of production. The object of this resolution was, very properly, to render nugatory any effort the colliers might make in the direction of an *isolated strike*, for the purpose of coercing the masters in detail, to give terms, which as a body, they would not do.

Fortunately this contingency did not arise. Later in the day, Mr. Matthews, solicitor for the masters, and Mr. Stephens, solicitor for the men, met, agreed, and signed the DEED OF SUBMISSION on the following terms, which were duly published:—

“ABERDARE AND RHONDDA VALLEY COLLIERIES.”

“Disputes and differences as to rates of wages, duration of hiring, mode of working, and other matters, having arisen

between the proprietors of the above collieries and the colliers and other workmen connected therewith, it is hereby agreed that all such matters in difference shall be referred to the arbitration and award of two persons, one to be appointed by each party (and their umpire), provided that in fixing the rates of wages and prices, the arbitrators and their umpire shall be governed by the rates paid for similar descriptions of work at other collieries and works raising steam coal in Monmouthshire and South Wales, that such arbitration shall be proceeded with and concluded (within the space of six months from this date) in conformity with the provisions of the Common Law Procedure Act, 1854, that the award of the said arbitrators or umpire shall be binding upon the parties hereto for the space of six months from the date of resuming work, and that five out of every 100 men employed in each pit shall be at liberty each month, on giving the usual month's notice, to quit their employment, the proprietors having a similar power of discharge, notwithstanding that such men have signed this agreement.

"That pending the making of such award, the colliers and other workmen shall resume work, being paid draws on account at the usual times, and in the customary manner, based upon the rates of wages paid for the month of May, 1871, the excess or reduction being accounted for by the parties respectively, on the award being made.

"That the parties shall respectively bear their own costs

of the reference, and that the costs of the umpire shall be borne equally between them.

"Dated at Cardiff this 21st day of August, 1871.

"Signed, for and on behalf of the steam coal colliery proprietors,

"BENJAMIN MATTHEWS, Solicitor.

"Signod, for and on behalf of the colliers and workmen,

"THOMAS H. STEPHENS, Solicitor.

"Witness to the signatures of both parties,

"ALEX. DALZIEL.

At the workmen's request this was also published in Welsh :—

**"TELERAU Y CYTUNDEB I DROSGLWYDDO YR
ACHOS I GYFLAFAREDDIAD.**

"Yn gymaint a bod anghydfod ac anghydwelediad mewn perthynas i iawn daliad, parhâd cydundebau, dull o weithio a phethau eraill, wedi codi rhwng perchenogion y gweithiau uchod a'r glowyr ac ereill cyssylltiedig â'r gweithiau hyn, y ydys yma yn cyduno fod i bob cyfryw wahaniaeth gael drosglwyddo i ofal cyflafareddiad a barn dau ddyn a chanol (un i'w ddewis gan bob plaid), ar yr ystyriaeth fod i far cyfryw gyflafareddwyr a'u canolwr gael ei rheoli gan y a delir am waith o'r un desgriiad mewn glofeydd a gw fuodd yn Swydd Fynwy a Deheudir Cymru. Fod i'r c

gyflafareddiod gael ei ddechreu a'i orphen o fewn chwe mis o'r dyddiad hwn, yn unol â gofyniadau Cyfraith Materion Cyffredin, 1854. Fod i'r ddwy blaid fod yn rhwymedig i'r farn a roddir gan y cyflafareddwyr a'u canolwr am ysbaid chwe mis o'r dydd y dechreuir gweithio, a bod rhyddid i bump dyn allan o bob cant gael ymadael drwy roddi y rhybudd arferol bob mis; yr un hawl gan y perchenogion i dalu ymaith, er fod i'r cyfryw ddynion lawnodi y cytundeb hwn.

"I aros rhoddiad y cyfryw farn, fod i'r glowyr ac eraill ddechreu gweithio, ac i gael rhan-daliadau ar ddisgwyliad (*draws on account*) ar yr amser arferol, ac yn y dull arferol, y cyfryw daliad i'w wneyd yn unol a'r pris a roddid yn mis Mai, 1871, a'r codiad, neu y gostyngiad, i'w wastadâu pan rydd y cyflafareddwyr eu barn. Fod pob plaid i ddwyn ei chostau ei hun, ond bod costau y canolwr i'w talu yn rhanol gan y ddwy blaid.

"Dyddiedig yn Nghaerdydd, Awst 21, 1871.

"Llawnodwyd, dros ac ar ran perchenogion gweithiau glo ager,

"BENJAMIN MATTHEWS, Oyfreithiwr.

"Llawnodwyd dros ac ar ran y glowyr a'r gweithwyr,

"THOMAS H. STEPHENS, Cyfreithiwr.

"Tyst o'r ddau lawnodiad,

"ALEX. DALZIEL."

CHAPTER XII.

THE announcement that all had been amicably arranged, was hailed with unmixed satisfaction by the public, and the main body of the colliers. Perhaps it was as well that there had been so much disputation over the terms of the agreement, because, all parties concerned were now fully sensible of their exact meaning. Had the dispute been adjusted and the agreement signed on the Tuesday previous, it is possible that the colliers would have been displeased—put wrong constructions on the terms, and been prone to evince dissatisfaction for a long time to come. On the other hand, the wordy warfare so thoroughly ventilated the subject, that the colliers were, through the press, made aware of the strenuous efforts put forth by the deputation to protect the interests of their friends and colleagues. The trouble, therefore, caused in adjusting the terms was not an unmixed evil. At each pit, duplicate forms of the agreement were signed by each man and boy, and the pits were re-opened on the 23rd and 24th of August, 1871.

For a couple of days, there was a slight hitch in the arrangements, the men being under the impression that it was all-sufficient for the *solicitors* to have signed the agreement. That being only a

preliminary step, the masters pressed for the signature of all workmen before entering the pits, so as to hold them bound to the award, when made. The men held back from this, until they received advice in the following letter from Henry Thomas :—

“TO THE EDITOR OF THE ‘WESTERN MAIL.’

“Sir,

“I wish to inform my fellow-workmen that, having seen Mr. Dalziel, the secretary of the Steam Coal Proprietors’ Association, and Mr. T. H. Stephens, our solicitor, I have found everything correct with respect to the form of agreement which the colliers and masters are mutually to sign. I understand that there has been a copy sent to each colliery. I hope everyone will sign the document, and resume work immediately. I have arranged for five representatives from each party, to meet at Cardiff next Monday, at ten o’clock a.m., to settle who are to be the arbitrators.

“I am, yours truly,

“HENRY THOMAS.”

“Cardiff, August 21, 1871.”

At two or three of the pits from whence delegates had not been sent to the discussion with the masters, there arose some trifling difficulties about the signing of the duplicate agreements, the men seeking to vary the terms, and to gain advantages which the surrounding pits had not. The masters dictated a positive refusal to re-open any of the conditions. The difficulties were removed and the men went to work.

Slight mention has been made about the action of the Union during these negotiations, excepting that Mr. Halliday did his best to thwart them. Probably his object was to preserve the influence which the Union had hitherto exercised over the minds of the colliers. At the last moment—on Saturday—finding that he had over-acted this policy, he inserted the following letter in the “Western Mail” :—

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE ‘ WESTERN MAIL,’

“ SIR,

“ As a proof that the colliers now on strike only desire what is fair and just, I am authorised to state that they are ready to accept the following agreement to refer the present dispute to arbitration :—

“ Disputes and differences as to the rates of wages, duration of hiring, mode of working, and other matters, having arisen between the proprietors of the above colliery, and the colliers, and other workmen connected therewith, it is hereby agreed that all such matters in difference shall be referred to the arbitration and award of ———— and their umpire, provided that in fixing the rates of wages and prices, the arbitrators and their umpire shall be governed by the rates paid for similar descriptions of work, as at other collieries raising steam coal in Monmouthshire and South Wales; that such arbitration shall be proceeded with and concluded within the space of six months from this date, in conformity with the provisions of

the Common Law Procedure Act, 1854; that the award of the said arbitrators shall be binding upon the parties hereto for the space of six months from the date of resuming work; and that five per cent. of the men employed in each pit shall be at liberty every month, on giving the usual month's notice, to quit their employment, notwithstanding that such men may have signed this agreement.

"This only differs from the agreement drawn up by the masters inasmuch as it stipulates—

"1. That the arbitrators' award shall be given within six months.

"2. That the rate of wages fixed by their award shall be binding on both parties for six months from the date of resuming work; and

"3. That five per cent. of the men employed in each pit shall be permitted to leave every month should they so desire, on giving the usual month's notice.

"All other points in dispute, or which may afterwards arise before giving the award, to be summarily dealt with by the arbitrators and umpire.

"Yours truly,

"THOMAS HALLIDAY.

"Raper's Hotel, Cardiff, Aug. 20, 1871."

An impression prevailed that this letter had considerable weight in bringing about a settlement, but it was not so. It did not influence the masters in the slightest degree, to modify the terms. If anything, it tended to anger them still further, and might at another time have exercised a prejudicial effect upon the negotiations. The matter had been amicably arranged by word of mouth between the two solicitors, without Mr. Halliday's intervention. The strike having now lasted for a period of twelve weeks, let us see what aid during that time had been afforded to the colliers, by the Union.

From the only sources available, viz :—the accounts published by the men, the moneys paid to the colliers, were :—

Date.	Number of Instalment.	Amount.	Number of men to be divided amongst.	Rates per week.	
1871.		£ s. d.		s. d.	
22nd June	First	1,048 0 6	9,322	2 2	or 2s. 1½d. per man per week.
6th July	Second	881 4 8	8,734	1 11	
15th "	Third	861 13 8	5,307	3 2	
29th "	Fourth	868 3 11	3,882	4 6	
5th August	Fifth	assume	assume	6 4	
26th "	Sixth	2,000 0 0	3,000	7 6	
		5,659 2 9			
31st "	Special	50 0 0	for clothing children.		
16th September	Final	673 18 5	4,928 children in Aberdare 329 New Tredegar 1,953 Rhondda	1s. 10d. per child.	
	Total	£6,383 1 2			

Mr. Halliday at a meeting of the Associated Miners at Merthyr, on the third of October, 1871, said that the Union had collected in

Special Levies for the purposes of							
the Strike	...	...	...	...	3,283	18	6½
Ordinary levies	...	...	...	...	2,173	9	8½
					£5,457	8	3
That out of this sum had been							
paid to the men on strike at							
New Tredegar	...	...	320	12	2		
Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys	4,350	0	0				
					4,670	12	2
Leaving in hand	...	...	...	...	£786	16	1

Mr. Halliday made the balance in hand to be, £318 5s. 2½d., so that probably further sums had been paid, to which allusion was not made.

Accepting for the time being, the most favourable view of the foregoing figures, we find that the total aid was £6,383 1s. 2d., and according to a statement made by the Union, it had made during a period of twelve weeks, the average weekly payments of 2s. 1½d. per man. This is scarcely a true test of the measure of

aid afforded to the men, because the claimants far exceeded the number stated, but the Union under various pretences reduced them. It will also be remembered that, at the commencement of the strike, the "Executive" promised to grant weekly, 10s. to each man who resisted the masters. Assuming for the sake of argument, that the average number of claimants for the twelve weeks was 5,500, then the total sum to have been paid to the men, was £33,000—the advertized sum paid was £5,659. The officers of the Union further said, that they would pay 1s. weekly for every child in the colliers' families, but, it will be seen that the children registered as claimants upon the fund, were 7,210, and that the total sum paid for them during the entire period was, £723 18s. 5d., being at the rate of 2d. per child per week!

In April, 1872, at the Union Conference, the following were elected officers :—

T. HALLIDAY, President.

— BROWN, Vice-President, Stafford.

— WALKDEN, Treasurer.

— WORRALL, Secretary.

Executive.

J. MORGAN, Aberdare.

B. HAYCOCK, Rhondda.

P. JONES, Monmouth.

F. DAWSON, Farnworth.

W. WOGAN, Wigan.

B. COTTERILL, North Stafford.

T. BOWEN, South Stafford.

It was then stated that the funds left in the hands of the Treasurer were, in

October, 1871	...	...	...	362	14	10½
Collected since	...	...	...	1,966	15	0
				<u>£2,329</u>	9	10½
Expended since that date	...	...	...	1,036	1	3½
Leaving in hand	...	...	...	<u>£1,293</u>	8	7

Nothing was published to shew what had become of the £1,036 1s. 3d., but that sum it should be understood, was spent subsequently to the final payment to the men on strike.

It is difficult to reconcile all the figures. Certainly there is reason to doubt that the men got as much as £6,383 1s. 2d., and should they even have done so, the utmost relief afforded was 2s. 1½d. per week per man, and 2d. per week per child. This, too, for an average of not more than half of the number who were on strike. It will scarcely be necessary to make further mention of the funds of the Union. Enough has been said to shew that they were a delusion and a snare. The men will doubtless in years to come have a lively recollection of the nominal aid afforded by the Union. The masters will not forget these figures, neither should they overlook the fact that the number of claimants diminished week by week, the missing men having found employment in agricultural pursuits, and in coal mining in the surrounding districts. Further, that the workmen on strike preferred to accept other work at wages

considerably below what they had been in the habit of receiving at their old employment. This they did for the time being, rather than submit to what they thought to be an injustice.

On the re-opening of the pits, the old hands did not come forward in such numbers as was expected. This was partly to be accounted for, by so many of them being under engagements at the iron works and at the non-associated steam coal pits, from whence they were unable to free themselves until at least one month's notice had been given. Large bodies of the colliers refrained from doing even this at the first opportunity, being anxious to see what would arise from the new state of affairs—the colliers working under arbitration.

Three months had passed before the collieries could be said to have reached anything like their normal production. Fully 2,000 men (out of 10,000) would appear to have deserted these valleys. Is it unreasonable to suppose that, these 2,000 men should comprise some of the most deserving and industrious of their class, who had sought in distant places that peace and settled employment, which was denied them at home by the malcontent and trade disturbing unionists?

The following two tables will shew approximately how the old hands returned to their employment, and that, even after eight months had elapsed, the full number had scarcely been re-engaged at all the pits; and, further, that the full daily production of coal was not regained till about the same period.

Approximate statement of the number of men and boys at work at the Associated Masters' Steam Coal Pits, prior and subsequent to the Strike.

	<i>Before the Strike.</i>	AFTER THE STRIKE.							
	May 31, 1871.	Aug. 24 1871.	Aug. 31 1871.	Sep. 15 1871.	Sep. 30 1871.	Oct. 6, 1871.	Oct. 23 1871.	Nov. 13 1871.	April 4 1872.
ABERDARE VALLEY.									
Powell Duffryn Co.	3,643	590	1,772	2,315	2,589	2,607	3,007	3,405	3,696
Nixon, Taylor, & Cory	1,112	171	460	569	634	655	847	908	1,049
D. Davis & Son	942	162	293	514	623	642	664	701	834
Lletty Shenkin	356	48	150	200	280	200	211	211	247
Aberdare Company	493	Nil.	150	280	330	354	396	450	495
Bwlfa Company	494	47	122	213	308	250	330	412	446
Nantmelyn	450	120	250	300	398	405	380	365	420
RHONDDA VALLEY.									
Ocean Company	1,192	600	200	585	830	850	950	1,096	1,262
D. Davis & Son	596	91	166	350	323	*327	338	313	507
Glamorgan Company	170	47	125	182	212	162	174	144	244
Pentre	241	30	80	150	200	180	226	260	250
Boedryngalt	123	22	29	35	41	51	51	51	110
Cwmsaebon	320	Nil.	215	230	263	273	270	258	242
	10,132	1,928	4,012	5,923	7,031	6,956	7,844	8,574	9,802

* Including 71 Yorkshiremen.

Statement, shewing the progressive rate of production of Steam Coal at the Associated Masters' Pits, prior and subsequent to the Strike—Colliers' Tons.

	<i>Before the Strike.</i>	AFTER THE STRIKE.							
	May 1871.	Aug. 26 1871.	Aug. 31 1871.	Sep. 15 1871.	Sep. 30 1871.	Oct. 6 1871.	Oct. 23 1871.	Nov. 13 1871.	April 4 1872.
ABERDARE VALLEY.									
Powell Duffryn Co.	3,500	100	1,772	3,121	2,960	3,230	3,982	4,104	3,500
Nixon, Taylor, & Cory	1,000	47	460	570	633	863	1,016	956	1,000
D. Davis & Son	700	30	293	486	549	678	600	633	700
Lletty Shenkin	350	23	56	140	145	192	190	165	197
Aberdare Company	450	Nil.	195	426	434	414	403	402	460
Bwlfa Company	400	Nil.	50	205	253	300	288	298	310
Nantmelyn	450	126	250	370	350	390	300	401	400
RHONDDA VALLEY.									
Ocean Company	1,250	Nil.	Nil.	843	1,187	1,224	1,186	1,266	1,250
D. Davis and Son	450	80	163	243	275	335	*282	317	350
Glamorgan Company	100	Nil.	174	227	212	240	250	295	274
Pentre	100	12	93	109	116	151	158	172	208
Boedryngalt	50	24	Nil.	39	42	40	41	33	74
Cwmsaebon	300	Nil.	175	294	213	270	235	267	227
	9,100	442	3,681	7,073	7,419	8,327	8,931	9,309	8,950

* Strangers had gone.

The managers of the pits, and the old hands, mutually agreed to have all the pits thoroughly examined, as to the general safety for working, freedom from gas, &c. The results were satisfactory, and the following are given as specimens of the reports published in the "Western Mail":—

"LOWER PIT, CWMENNAR.

"NINE FEET SEAM.—We have examined minutely the old and new workings, and found no accumulation of gas, except in one place, which was about two yards long, by five feet wide, and three inches thick.

"Signed,

"D. MORGAN, }
"J. JENKINS, } Colliers."

"OLD SIX FEET.—Old and new workings thoroughly examined. Found only about two lampsful of gas, and that in a hole over a fall on the goaf.

"Signed,

"LUKE JEFFERIES, }
"WM. PRITCHARD, } Colliers."

"NEW SIX FEET.—Found about two lampsful of gas in two places; all the other workings, old and new, quite free from gas.

"Signed,

"THOMAS LEWIS, }
"NEHEMIAH DAVIES, } Colliers."

"FOUR FEET.—We have examined carefully, the old and new workings, and found gas in three stalls only. The quantity was very small in two of them—about one lampful in each. In the third there was from three to four yards, owing to a blower that came from the top over a fall.

"Signed,

"J. JONES, }
"J. ELMS, } Colliers.

"UPPER PIT, CWMENNAR.

"NINE FEET.—About one lampful of gas in a hole by the top in one stall. All the other parts, old and new workings, quite free from gas. Signed,

"DAVID MORRIS, }
' WM. LEWIS, } Colliers.

"FACE SIDE, SIX FEET.—An accumulation of gas about three yards long, six inches thick in one place in the top over a fall, and about one lampful in another place; all the other parts quite free from gas. Signed,

"C. MORGAN, }
"J. PARRY, } Colliers.

"No. 2, SIX FEET.—Old and new workings minutely examined, and found one hole only with some little gas in it.

"Signed,

"EMANS SAGE, }
"JOSEPH ELMS, } Colliers.

"FAR END SIX FEET.—Thomas Hopkin's Deep. Two blowers and a little gas in two places. The old workings quite free from gas. TOP OF FAULT.—Quite free from gas. Old workings to the rise we found a little gas in two places owing to a door having fallen. PONTYPOOL HEADING.—We found some little gas in the top over a fall in the far end.

"Signed,

"D. JENKINS, }
"R. WALTERS, } Colliers.

"THE TWO FEET NINE SEAM.—No gas nor fire to be seen, but it was very hot in this district.

"Signed,

"D. MORRIS, }
"WM. LEWIS, } Colliers.

"It is anticipated that the whole of this extensive colliery will be in as good a condition for sending out coal by the end of next week, as it was before the strike commenced. The same thing can be said, no doubt, about most of the other collieries in the district.

"NAVIGATION COLLIERY.

August 28, 1871.

"SIR,

"We, the undersigned, have been selected by the workmen of the above colliery to examine the workings of the same. We commenced on Thursday, August 24th, in the engine deep.

“WILLIAM ROWLAND’S DISTRICT.—We travelled the upper west and lower west, and found it free from gas. We travelled lower east, and found a small blower in David Ree’s heading, but a sufficient current of air to clear it. We travelled the upper east, and found it all free from gas.

“WILLIAM HARRIES’S DISTRICT.—We travelled all the lower part of the east district, and found it free from gas. We travelled the upper part of east No. 9 district. In the face of John Rees’ heading we found a small blower, but all the other parts quite free from gas.

“*August 25, Second Day.*—We commenced at the Prince, Philip Jones’s district. We travelled the east side down as far as the water, and found it all free from gas; from there to the west side, and found a small blower in Philip Rees’s old heading, three feet above where the air travels. In the same heading in George Mapstone’s old stall we found a small blower in the top. We travelled through the ‘return’ up to No. 2, went through the return headings, the Serpentine, the Queen, and the Duffryn level, and through the return to the west side lower level.

“JENKIN EVANS’S DISTRICT.—We went up through the workings in No. 14 heading; in Fred. Guard’s old stall we found a small blower. We travelled to the upper part of the works in Thomas Phillips’s heading; found a small blower

in Thomas Beacham's stall. Travelled through the return heading back to the pit, and found the air in its proper circulation and all free from gas, with the exception of the small blowers above mentioned. We consider that great credit is due to Mr. Brown, the manager, and the officers of the colliery for the manner in which the colliery is ventilated.

"Signed,

" ENOS BROOKS, }
" MORGAN THOMAS, } Colliers."

" INSPECTING WORKMENS' REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE
DEEP DUFFRYN COLLIERY.

" To GEORGE BROWN, Esq., Manager: Sir,—In compliance with your request, we have carefully and conscientiously examined both the old and new workings of Deep Duffryn Colliery, and hereby submit a correct report of the same:—

" August 24, 1871.

" THOMAS HARRIES'S DISTRICT, JERRY'S DEEP (WEST SIDE).
—We have walked all through the new and old workings. Found one blower in Thomas Harries's district; all the old workings clear from gas.

"THOMAS JONES'S DISTRICT (WEST SIDE).—We walked through to No. 17 heading. Found one blower there, and one in Matthew Brooks's cross heading. All the others, new and old, clear from gas.

"WILLIAM DAVIES'S DISTRICT (TOP OF INCLINE).—Found one blower in the top of No. 7 cross heading. All the new and old workings clear from gas.

"August 25, 1871.

"EAST SIDE DISTRICT.—Walked through the Blooming Deep to the top of the fault; found one blower at the bottom of John Harris's cross heading. Walked through all the other old workings, and found them clear from gas.

"ENGINE DEEP DISTRICT.—Walked through the lower return along the new workings until we came to Samuel Hillman's cross heading. Found one blower in the face; found one blower on Thomas Evans's road in Levi Rees's deep.

"August 26.

"Found a small accumulation of gas in David Morgan's level heading, also in the face of David Joseph's heading.

"In all places, where requested, we found the overman, deputy-overmen, and firemen's marks, giving satisfactory proof that both the old and new workings are regularly travelled.

Moreover, we hereby bear testimony to the whole of the above-mentioned colliery being in a perfectly satisfactory and safe working order, a strong current of air being accessible to the different sections of the works, the communication of which exempts it from every danger apprehensible or foreseen, the whole reflecting high credit upon the excellent management of the same.

" P.S.—We have found all blowers discovered and entered on the diary in the lodge at the bottom of the pit.

" Signed,

" THOMAS WATKINS, }
" DANIEL WILLIAMS, } Colliers."

" YSTRADYFODWG, *Monday Night.*

" Of all the collieries which have been at a standstill, there has been more anxiety concerning the condition of the Pentre colliery, than any other in South Wales, and not unnaturally too, owing to the fearful explosion which had taken place there just before the commencement of the strike. Therefore, it is with much gratification that I am now able to inform you of its condition. Yesterday four colliers, accompanied by four firemen, travelled the workings, and made a thorough investigation in all parts, with the following result :—

" Found every place everywhere free from gas, except in No. 27 'Gravel heading,' where a small quantity was found, owing to

the brattice, or mouth of stall, having fallen down, but, after replacing the same, the gas quickly disappeared. No blowers to be found. Ventilation good, never in better condition. Workings declared throughout to be totally free from danger.

“Signed,

“ELIAS THOMAS,

“ELIEZER THOMAS,

“JOHN LEWIS,

“THOMAS REES.”

“About eighty colliers descended the pit this morning.”

CHAPTER XIII.

It must not be supposed that the two valleys were free from the "dissatisfied minority." It is with this section that the masters, and the main body of colliers, have most difficulty in dealing. It is composed of the noisiest and the laziest of them all,—men who are neither willing to work, nor content that others should. Such men's earnings are always below mediocrity. They are the more rampant of the members of the Union, and by their clamour seek to maintain the disturbed state of affairs, in order that they may be paid from the funds of the Union,—leading a life of idleness.

In the present instance, they were the men, who on the resumption of work, made demands on the masters for special concessions, some of a very obnoxious character, such as that certain overmen, and other officers, should be discharged before they (the minority) would return to work. A firm attitude was assumed by the colliery managers, and the good sense of the main body of colliers soon silenced these men.

As a rule, strikes have been productive of moral and social degradation amongst the families of those who have thrown

themselves out of employment. Idleness,—poverty,—crime, follow each other as a natural sequence. Sickness too, claims its share of victims from this abnormal condition of things.

The strike immediately past, was happily brought to an end before the colliers' physical and mental condition had rendered them so desperate as to lead them into a course of crime and violence. The crime calendar of the county will bear testimony to the fact, that the colliers as a class, conducted themselves with exemplary patience and fortitude, under circumstances which severely tried both. But, the period of privation resulted in a diminution of the physical power of the workmen, and fully two months elapsed before they could be said to have been restored to good working condition. Sickness broke out in many villages, and ravaged the ill-fed and badly clothed families, numbers of whom fell victims to disease. The sudden return to good food restored the healthy, but it destroyed the weak.

Immediately on the resumption of work, the majority of the Associated Masters foresaw that the consumers of coal, and more especially the "middle men," would make an onslaught on prices, with the object of buying cheaply, using as their arguments that the strike being over the market would again begin to receive supplies, for which it was not prepared—that the supplies would gradually increase, and there would be difficulty in displacing other coals, which had in the market taken the place of the coal locked up by the strike. In fact, these arguments were made use of, but the masters were equal to the occasion. They formed themselves

into a "Sale of Coal" committee, consisting of the entire body, and they resolved to meet daily, either in person, or by representative authorized in writing. That arrangement was found to be excellent in its results, and it is acted upon to this day.

For a couple of months they made a further arrangement "That all local negotiations for the sale of coal be passed through Mr. Dalziel, the secretary." The operation of this latter clause was temporary, until some general plan could be devised, which should enable the Associated Masters to protect their interests effectively and permanently. By combined action, the masters were enabled to prevent unnecessary competition with each other.

Statistics were, and are yet compiled weekly to shew the arrivals of tonnage, as compared with the capabilities of production, so that on every Tuesday morning, the sellers are informed collectively as to the exact position of supply and demand.

This "sale of coal" committee was not formed for the purpose of forcing prices beyond the legitimate rates which the market would justify. On the contrary, the daily meetings brought about uniformity of action, and *stability* of prices.

This matter has no immediate bearing upon the strike, but for future guidance it is just as well to have related this circumstance in connection with it.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE old hands having returned to work, they began to discuss the selection of the arbitrators, and on Monday, the 28th of August, 1871, a meeting took place at Cardiff for that purpose. The Committee appointed by the Masters were: Messrs.

LEWIS DAVIS,
REES JONES,
H. W. DALLAS, for George Elliot;
W. THOS. LEWIS, for the Marquis of Bute;
T. WEBB, for David Davies.

The Miners' Delegates were:—

HENRY THOMAS, of Abercwmboy;
BETHUEL HAYCOCK, of Bodryngalt;
WM. EDWARDS, of Navigation;
TIMOTHY DAVIES, of Cwmbach;
LEWIS MORGAN, of Abergorki.

The Masters selected

GEORGE PARKER BIDDER, Barrister-at-Law.

The Men selected

ALEXANDER MACDONALD,

President of the National Miners' Association of Great Britain.

Both gentlemen accepted the appointments, that of Mr. Macdonald being ratified at a mass meeting of the colliers.

The selection of an Umpire was a more troublesome affair. Neither side seemed satisfied with the selection of names put forward, and it was not until about Christmas, that it was finally arranged.

At the sitting when the arbitrators were selected, the solicitor for the masters threw out a suggestion, that to avoid expense and delay, it would be worth the colliers' while to consider, whether a single arbitrator or umpire might be chosen instead of three. It was simply a suggestion—nothing more. The colliers did not view this favourably, and as appeared from the following notice which they inserted in the "Western Mail," they construed it into a positive proposition.

"The masters have proposed to the men a settlement by the award of an umpire, dispensing with an arbitrator from each

side, which mode of settlement they say would save much expense. This was submitted to the delegates at Cardiff this week, but, acting upon the advice of the executive of the Union, the men said the Union was fully prepared to pay its share of the expense of arbitration. It is believed by the colliers that the masters will in a few days grant the original demand of five per cent., and not adopt arbitration as a settlement of the dispute. I believe that this is to be regretted, for the public have regarded the introduction of a system of arbitration into these valleys as the great preventative of strikes in the future; but even if the masters will not give it a trial, I believe it will in future be looked upon by the colliers as the best and cheapest mode of settlement. The fact that the masters of these three valleys show a reluctance to adopt it is not likely to injure the character of the system of arbitration in the estimation of the colliers. It is to be hoped that both sides will soon settle upon a firm basis."

To correct this statement, calculated as it probably was to create an unfavourable impression against the masters, and, for the guidance of the colliers, the following letter was published:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'WESTERN MAIL.'"

"SIR,

"With reference to an announcement which appeared in your issue of this morning, I am directed to say that, whatever may be believed by the workmen to the contrary, *the employers*

desire arbitration, and wish to settle the differences between themselves and their workmen in that and no other way.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"ALEX. DALZIEL, Secretary.

"South Wales Steam Coal Collieries' Association,

"Cardiff, 1st September, 1871."

September 2nd.—That the delay, if any, should not be chargeable to the masters, a meeting was held this day, to appoint mining engineers for the task of preparing evidence, to be placed before the arbitrators. To Mr. William Thomas Lewis, of the Mardy, Aberdare, the Marquis of Bute's mineral agent, was committed the entire charge of this duty. To assist him in this matter he retained Messrs.—

DAVID LLEWELLIN, Pontypool,

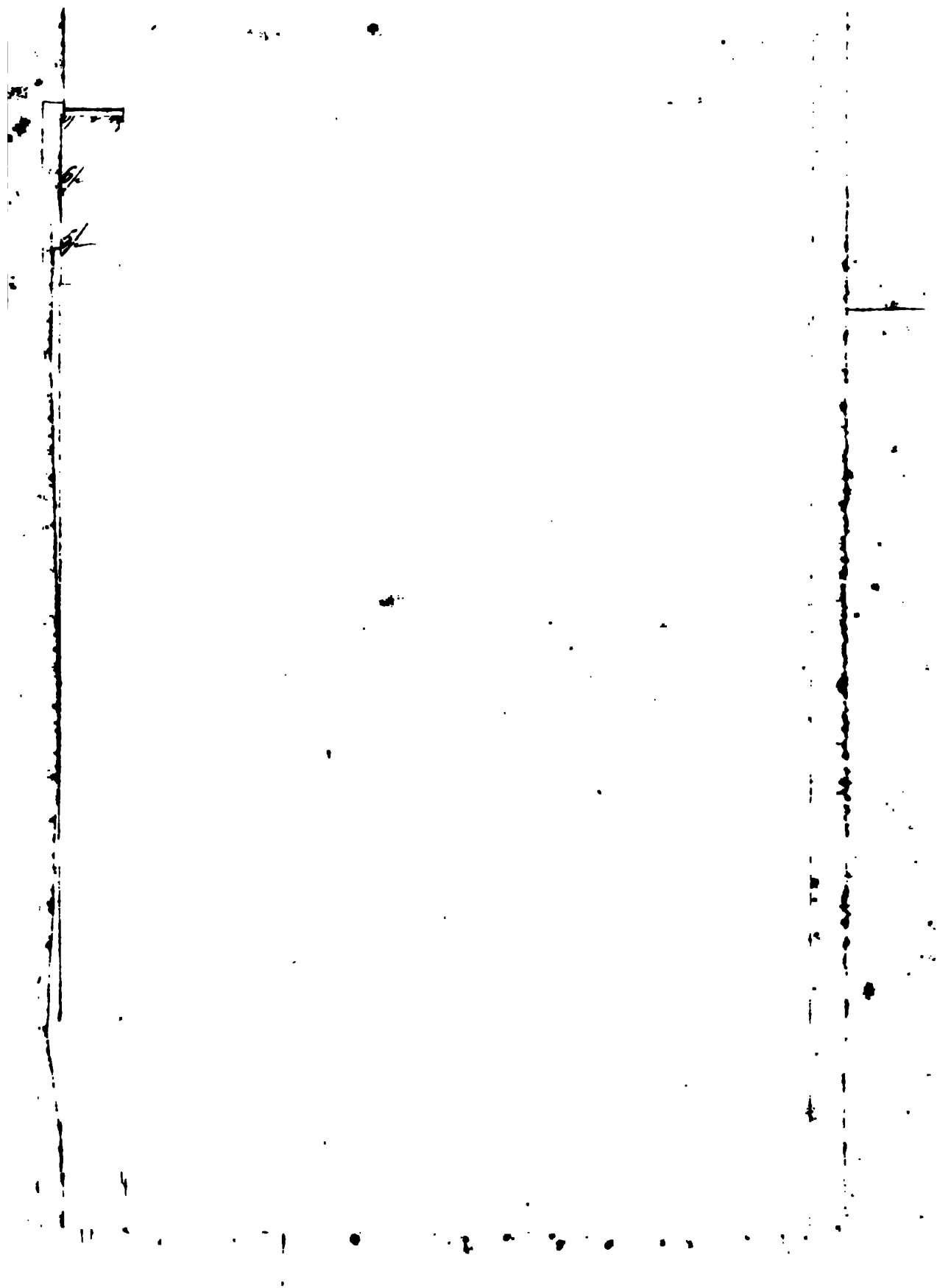
WILLIAM ADAMS, Cardiff,

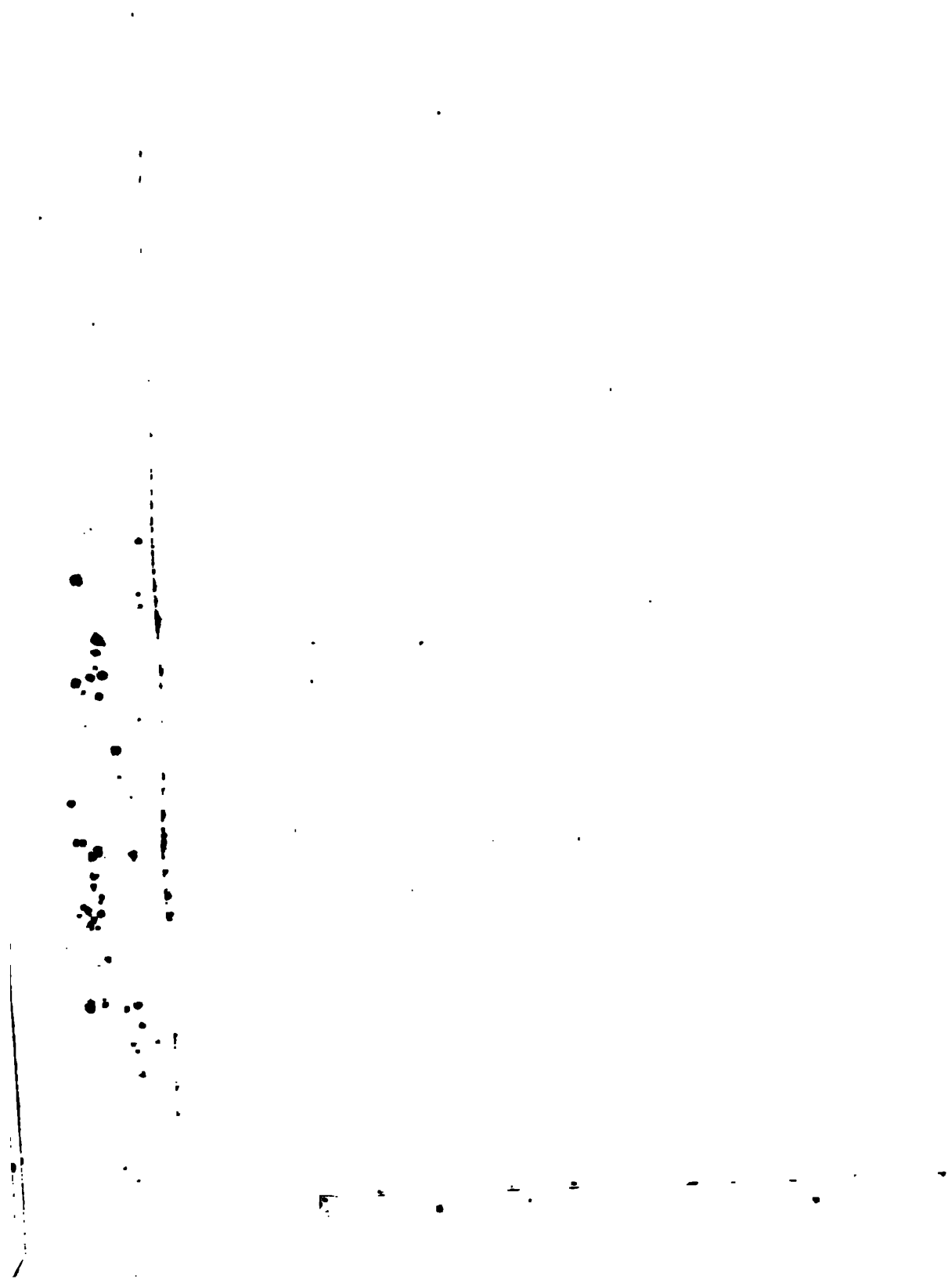
T. FOSTER BROWN, Cardiff,

EVAN DANIEL, Swansea,

LEWIS THOMAS LEWIS, Neath,

all eminent mining engineers. They took great pains in performing the work allotted to them, and the information obtained was voluminous. When compiled and tabulated by Mr. Lewis, it was found to be of great value to the Associated Masters. Extracts are here given:—





Consideration paid where coal is thin or where they cleave to the top or bottom or to the clood.	— . F th as m p
Longwall de Pillar & Stall	. . 1
Double timbers in stalls 9 ft 1/8. 6 ft 6 inches 11" in headings 9 ft. 2/ 6 ft 6 1/4 Props nil Logs in 4 ft seam 1/3 de. 6 " " 11"	9 3/4 1/2 1/2
3/6	
7/11 1/2 6/2	



respect to the LIERIES.

Longwall	_____	Longwall
do	Longwall	_____
do	_____	Longwall
Double timbers 6' 6" 1/2	Head ^{rs} Stalls	Head ^{rs} Stalls 1/9 1/3 11"
9ft 2 1/16 9ft Prop 11 2/16	1/8 2/16 1 7/16 1 1/2	Props 11 1/9 1/3 1/7
Logs from 11 1/16 to 1 1/7	in all seams	
each all Seams alike	2 nd gins Logs 11 2/16	
	4 th & 6 th do 1/7	
3/2 to 4/7	3/4 to 3/8	3/4 to 4/6
3/11 2/4 4/9	5/4 2/4 6/1 2/4	Two Feet Nine 4/8 Six Feet Seam 5/6 5/3 2/4

Comparative Statement between the Wages paid at Associated Collieries under Arbitration, and at the Iron Works' Pits and Collieries,—excluding the Non-Associated Pits in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys which were at work during the Strike.

	Colliers Labouring and Repairing, per day.		DOUBLE TIMBERS.	
	a.	d.	Stalls.	Headings.
Average rates paid at Collieries working under Arbitration	3	7.3	a. d. 1 3.9	a. d. 1 7.7
Average rates paid at Iron Works' Pits and other Collieries	2	11.6	0 10.2	1 0.7
	0	7.7	0 5.7	0 7

The advantage in favour of the workmen under arbitration, is—

Labouring and repairing, per day ...	21.6 per cent.
Timbering in Headings	55.8 „
Ditto in Stalls	55.1 „

To summarize the whole of the foregoing statements, would scarcely be a proper way to state the case of the Associated Masters, because, the competition in the sea coal markets lay chiefly between the *expensively* wrought steam coal produced by the Associated Masters, and the least expensive of the steam coal produced for sale by the *ironmasters of the Merthyr district*.

Clearly, the preceding statements are sufficient to prove the disadvantages under which the Associated Mast produced their coal.

CHAPTER XV.

IN August and September, 1871, the labour question of the country generally began to assume a portentous aspect. Nearly all trades had become suddenly prosperous. Coal, iron, and engineering especially so. Higher pay—shorter hours, seemed to be the cry everywhere, and the workmen were mostly successful in obtaining such a series of concessions, as might, but for the evil effects of the strike, have reflected seriously upon the coal trade in South Wales. The colliers had suffered so much during the *past* strike, that they were not disposed to co-operate heartily with the iron workers and colliers of Monmouthshire, when the latter agitated early in September, 1871, for a *prospective* 10% advance in wages. Several meetings were held at Tavernau Bach, with a double object—to strengthen the Union—and to devise measures for enforcing the 10%. The ironmasters in dealing with this demand, shewed a unanimity that was sadly wanting on their part earlier in the year, when making common cause with the coal masters of Glamorgan. They refused to grant an advance; and although repeated applications were made, it was not until after considerable agitation that they promised an advance of 10%, to take effect on the 1st March, 1872. This concession being promised (and

subsequently acted upon), was made use of by the colliers of the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys, in a proposition made by them during the sittings of the arbitrators. The iron and coal masters of Monmouth had thus staved off the demands of their colliers for 4 or 5 months. They were anxious to see the result of the arbitration in Wales, but the men becoming urgent, they were obliged to settle the question irrespective of that event. To shew the general advance in wages for nearly every description of labour, the following table may be interesting :—

THE COLLIERS' STRIKE IN SOUTH WALES :

Statement shewing the advance in wages and shorter hours, conceded to various classes of labour, from 23rd August, 1871, to May, 1872.

Date.	Per Centage of Advance.	Short Time System Conceded.	
1871.		Hours.	
Aug. 23 ...	10 %	...	West Lancashire Colliers
Sept. 5 ...	10 %	...	South Staffordshire Puddlers
" 5 ...	10 %	...	" " Millmen, Shinglers, & Forgemen
" 7 ...	2s. per week	...	Bolton Cotton-spinners, increased wages of Shippers and Grinders
" 7 ...	10s. "	...	Bolton and Farnworth miners
" 18 ...	Bonus	...	A large firm in Staffordshire giving a Bonus for more than five heats
Oct. 2 ...	nearly 10 %	...	Strike averted in Leeds by the concession
" 2 ...	" 10 %	...	Scissor-grinders
" 5 ...	6d. per week	...	Bolton Flax Mill
" 7 ...	...	9	Newcastle Engineers after strike
" 7 ...	10 %.	...	Sheffield Scissor-grinders
" 10 ...	10 %.	...	Kirkcaldy Shoemakers
" 11 ...	...	9	Stephenson's Engineers at Newcastle
" 11 ...	5 %.	1 hour less per wk.	Forest of Dean Colliers
" 11 ...	...	1 " "	G.W.R. Locomotive Works at Swindon
" 11 ...	1d. per ton	...	Colliers at Dysart
" 20 ...	3d. per day	...	Staffordshire Miners
" 20 ...	20 %.	...	Mayence Railway
" 20 ...	...	9 hours	Ironfounders and Machine Makers at Bradford
" 20 ...	...	9	Extensive Firms in Bolton
" 20 ...	...	9	Gwynne and Co., London
" 20 ...	...	9	Ipewich
Nov. 7 ...	...	9	Sheffield (throughout)
" 7 ...	5 %.	...	Forest of Dean Colliers
" 7 ...	...	9	Bristol & Exeter, and Hennett & Co., Bridgewater
" 7 ...	...	9	Brentwood
" 14 ...	...	9	Great Western Railway
" 14 ...	15 %.	...	Chemnitz Railway
" 14 ...	...	9	North Staffordshire Railway
" 22 ...	...	9	Chatham and Dover Railway
" 22 ...	...	9	Plymouth and Devonport
" 30 ...	5 %.	...	West Lancashire Colliers
" 30 ...	...	9	Glasgow Shipbuilders, Slaters
Dec. 5 ...	According to scale	...	Newcastle and Manchester Police
" 5 ...	...	9	Leicester Boot Trade
" 23 ...	...	9	Newport, Mon., Foundries and Ironworks
" 23 ...	5 %	...	South Lancashire Miners
" 23 ...	...	9	Swansea Wagon Company
" 23 ...	...	9	Edinburgh Engineers
" 23 ...	2d per ton.	...	Blackwood Miners

Statement (continued), shewing the advance in wages and shorter hours, conceded to various classes of labour from 23rd August, 1871, to May, 1872.

Date.	Per Centage of Advance.	Short Time System Conceded.	
1872.		Hours.	
Jan. 1 ...	...	9	Rhymney Railway Co., Locomotive Department
" 1 ...	...	9	Royal Mail Company, Southampton
" 1 ...	...	9	Blaenavon Iron Works
" 5 ...	2d. per ton	...	Caerphilly Collieries
" 5 ...	1s. per week.	...	Dublin Scavengers
" 5 ...	1s. to 1s. 6d.	...	Framework Knitters
" 5 ...	...	9	Dowlais Company's Artizans
" 20 ...	...	58 per wk.	South Staffordshire Colliers
" 20 ...	...	9	"Western Mail" Printers, Cardiff
" 20 ...	...	9	Shipwrights, Cardiff
" 20 ...	...	9	Parfitt and Jenkins, Cardiff
" 20 ...	2s. per week	...	Cardiff Scavengers
" 24 ...	10 %	...	Blaenavon Works, from 1st March
" 24 ...	10 %	...	Ebbw Vale Works, from 1st March, weekly pays
Feb. 8 ...	{ 2½ % and 10 % }	...	South Wales Steam Coal Owners
" 10 ...	...	9	Vernon Tin Works
" 10 ...	...	9	Aberdare and Abergavenny
March ...	1s. to 2s.	...	Aberystwith Policemen
" ...	1s. 6d. per week	...	Leeds Flaxmen
" ...	4s. "	...	Farm Labourers (Sir Charles Mordaunt)
April ...	...	9	Painters, Masons, &c., at Cardiff
" ...	10 %	...	Leeds Felt hands
" 18 ...	...	9	Kirkcaldy Floor Cloth Weavers
" 18 ...	1s. 6d. per ton.	...	Leeds Puddlers
" 20 ...	...	9	Llanelly Iron Works
" 20 ...	10 %	...	Lydney Tin Works
" 20 ...	1s. per week	...	Taff Vale Railway men
" 27 ...	2s. per week	...	Taunton Agricultural Labourers
" 30 ...	over 33 %	...	Allendale Lead Miners
May 2 ...	6d. per day.	...	Scotch Miners
" 2 ...	3s. per week	...	Dundee Saddlers
" 2 ...	...	9	Aberdare and Rhondda Valley Colliery Artizans
" 4 ...	1s. 2s. per boy	...	Jarrow, Palmer's-yard
" 6 ...	2s. per week	...	Liverpool Carters
" 7 ...	10 %.	...	Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire Ironmasters,
" 9 ...	10 %.	...	Iron and Coal Workers, from 3rd June
			South Wales Steam Coal Owners

CHAPTER XVI.

September 7th, 1871.—Mr. Stephens, the Solicitor for the workmen, addressed the following letter to the Solicitor for the masters :—

“ CARDIFF, SEPT., 1871.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ COLLIERS.

“ I would make the following suggestions on behalf of the men, viz. :—

“ That five per cent., or something equal to it, be granted to the men for six months.

“ In consideration thereof, the colliers to do away with all *restrictions*.

“ To refer all minor disputes to arbitration at the respective collieries.

“ If, after the six months before-mentioned, there be a general advance of wages in the district, the advance to be granted; if, on the other hand, there be a fall in the rates of wages, the same to be submitted to by the men. *The*

colliers will also pledge themselves to work hard to endeavour to put an end to every feeling of irritation, to the end that harmony and good feeling may prevail.

“ Yours truly,

“ T. H. STEPHENS.”

“ BENJ. MATTHEWS, Esq., Solicitor, Cardiff.”

The masters, fully alive to the inexpediency of corresponding on a question of this kind, felt indignant at being asked to give the 5 per cent., after having undergone the odium and expense of a strike, and they instructed Mr. Matthews to send the following reply to Mr. Stephens:—

“ In reply to your letter of the 7th inst., I am instructed to say that no suggestion can be entertained, but such as will facilitate an early award, under the arbitration agreed upon.”

One can scarcely imagine how the colliers could have seriously instructed their solicitor to make the proposition. It betokened an obtuseness which would not have been attributed to them. The masters were resolved not to allow any bye-play of this kind to prejudice the results of the past three months.

A calm settled over the valleys, and the production of coal kept steadily upwards, until, in the spring of 1872, when something like the full output was reached. This was done, notwithstanding that nearly 2,000 men had for three or four months left the districts; a serious deficiency out of 10,000, but it shewed that the poverty entailed by the strike—the debts incurred by the workmen—and above all the severe lesson which had been taught—put the colliers so far on their mettle, that for a time at least, they dropped the dangerous policy of “restriction of get,” and worked manfully.

Mr. Bidder and Mr. Macdonald corresponded, and had several interviews for the purpose of fixing upon an umpire. The masters suggested any one of the following:—

LORD CAIRNS.

LORD JUSTICE JAMES.

SIR WILLIAM EARLE (declined by reason of ill health).

HORATIO LLOYD, Q.C.

W. R. GROVE, Q.C.

H. J. T. MACNAMARA, Q.C.

CHARLES POLLOCK, Q.C.

The men suggested—

LORD ELCHO.

JUDGE KETTLE.

MR. MUNDELLA, M.P.

MR. THOMAS HUGHES, M.P.

There was considerable difficulty in agreeing as to this matter, the workmen being anxious to have one of their own selection. The masters being unwilling to accept any gentleman whose known proclivities lay in a direction of popularity with the working classes, objected to the selection of any one of the four nominated by the Union. They further resolved, in case no arrangement could be come to between Mr. Bidder and Mr. Macdonald, that an application should be made, for a Judge in Chambers to take the appointment out of the hands of both parties, and to nominate some one who should be perfectly free from party bias.

November 21st.—Mr. Macdonald proposed five additional names :

Mr. DIGBY SEYMOUR, Q.C.,

“ TORR, Barrister,

“ PICKERING, Q.C.,

“ QUAIN, Q.C.,

Lord DUFFERIN.

The masters did not approve of any of the foregoing names excepting that of

Mr. QUAIN, Q.C.,

but they were willing that a ballot should be taken of the names of

Mr. QUAIN, Q.C.,

“ MACNAMARA, Q.C., and

“ DENISON, Q.C.

December 16th.—The arbitrators agreed to take Mr. Quain, but that gentleman could not accept the appointment, having in the meantime been appointed to a Judgeship. It was provided, in case he refused, that the consent of Mr. Macnamara should be sought. He did consent, and arrangements were made that the first sittings should take place on the 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th of December. Immediate steps were taken to press forward the arbitration.

Mr. W. Thos. Lewis, of the Mardy, to whom was committed the care of the Masters' case for arbitration, stated that the obtaining of evidence was being pushed forward as rapidly as possible, but that, inasmuch as several of the ironmasters and non-associated coal owners, especially those of the Western part of Glamorgan, were reluctant to give information which might eventually be made use of to their detriment—he would be unable to put forward the case in a sufficiently prepared state for arbitration, until the middle of January. He further remarked that Mr. Henry Thomas, the miners' delegate, had lately told him that the miners' case was not ready.

The period within which the declaration of award should be made now drawing nigh, the colliers became alarmed, fearing that the masters were desirous of deferring it. Henry Thomas published the following letter :—

“ TO THE EMPLOYERS IN CONNECTION WITH THE ARBITRATION
CASE OF SOUTH WALES.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ I kindly ask you, on behalf of the men, what is your intention in delaying the above case so long without settling it? I can assure you that there is great dissatisfaction among the men; and I cannot blame them; and if a satisfactory reply will not be given in a few days, the men shall take their own course, and as for the consequences, you judge for yourselves. My humble opinion is that all this time is not required to settle the dispute, and if anything should turn up similar to this again (which I hope it will not), I can firmly state that you will not have such time again.

“ Yours truly,

“ HENRY THOMAS.”

“ Aberaman, Jan. 3, 1872.”

This letter was considered to be offensive, as placing the onus of delay upon the masters.

The workmen's delegates *now* being ready with their case, (which had given them considerable trouble in the preparation,) made a sudden show of alacrity, but they utterly ignored the protracted negotiations which had been going on for some time, respecting the selection of an umpire. The earliest day named by the arbitrators for the first sitting was the 27th of December, and that being a holiday time, when the engineers and parties to the

dispute were nearly all absent from home, it was not unreasonable to suggest that for a week or two longer the case should stand over, till all concerned could conveniently meet. The delay was not of the slightest moment, because the conditions of the award would cover all circumstances which might transpire within the period of its operation, i.e., from the 21st of August, 1871, to the 21st of February, 1872. Mr. Thomas's letter was therefore replied to thus :—

“ SIR,

“ In this morning's 'Western Mail' there is a letter from Mr. Henry Thomas, of Aberaman, respecting the delay in the arbitration of the wages question.

“ Allow me to explain that the earliest day suggested by the arbitrators for their first sitting, was the 27th December last, but as that time was inconvenient to nearly all concerned, because of the holidays, the arbitrators have to-day proposed that they should sit on the 29th inst.

“ To this the colliery owners have no possible objection.

“ The area is so wide, over which the inquiry (as to relative rates of wages) extends, that an immense amount of labour had to be incurred by both sides in collecting reliable information.

“ Every effort has been made by the proprietors to hasten the completion of this work.

"The interests of the colliers are fully protected under the agreement of reference, and are therefore not prejudiced by the time occupied unavoidably in preparing the evidence.

"Your obedient servant,

"ALEX. DALZIEL, Secretary,
"South Wales Steam Coal Collieries' Association.

"Cardiff, 4th January, 1872."

January 4th, 1872. — The Union, wishing to make a still further show for cause of complaint against the masters, Mr. Halliday thought fit to call in question the statement, with respect to the arbitration being proceeded with on the 29th inst. He published the following letter :—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'WESTERN MAIL.'"

"SIR,

"By your paper of the 5th current, I see that Mr. Dalziel, Secretary to the Steam Coal Collieries' Association, states that the arbiters in the above case have proposed to meet on the 29th, in order to proceed in the arbitration. I am confident that this is a mis-statement, as from information received from the arbitrator on the part of the men, no such arrangement has yet been made. On the contrary, from information received up to the time of writing, he is anxious for a meeting to take place on the 17th current.

"In respect to the workmen interested in the arbitration, we would say that they may feel perfectly safe, that their interests are being attended to by those in whose care the matters have been placed.

"The Executive express a hope that the men will continue confidence in them, as heretofore, until the arbitration is ended.

"I hope to be among the men shortly, when I and other leaders of the men can more fully explain matters.

"I am, yours respectfully,

THOMAS HALLIDAY,

"President of the Amalgamated Association of Miners.

"Little Lever, near Bolton, January 6th, 1872."

January 9th, 1872.—To this the masters replied :—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'WESTERN MAIL.'

"SIR,

"In reference to Mr. Halliday's letter in your to-day's paper, I beg to say that my statement was based on a letter under date the 3rd instant, addressed to me by Mr. Matthews, the solicitor acting for the masters. From that letter the following is an extract :—'I have seen Mr. Bidder to-day. Mr. Macnamara

has been appointed umpire, and has accepted. It is proposed to hold the meeting at Cardiff the week commencing the 29th inst.'

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"ALEX. DALZIEL, Secretary.

"Cardiff, January 9th, 1872."

January 16th, 1872.—It was said that the men were becoming more uneasy, fearing that the award would not be given until after the expiration of the allotted six months.

January 21st, 1872.—A meeting of delegates was held this day at the Colliers' Arms Inn, Pontypridd. Mr. Henry Thomas, of Cap Coch, in the chair.

The ostensible object of the meeting was, to consider what course would be pursued in case the masters should delay the arbitration, although the delegates must have well known that the masters were not to blame for any delay which had taken place. The meeting proceeded to animadvert strongly against them. There were other subjects under discussion of possibly greater moment than the ostensible cause of the meeting, such as the price of coal in the markets, *employment of boys*, &c. It may be interesting to read a full report of this meeting. The arguments were unsound, and not such as could have been expected from a

body of intelligent men, who professed to represent the entire body of colliers, but they shewed in what direction the masters could look for sources of future disturbance.

"A meeting of great importance, representing more than all the colliers who were out during the late calamitous strike, was held yesterday at the Colliers' Arms Inn. Mr. Henry Thomas, Cap Coch, Mountain Ash, was elected to the chair.

"The Chairman stated that the meeting had been called in consequence of the feeling of dissatisfaction evinced by the men in the three valleys at the delay of the masters to submit the dispute to arbitration. Nearly five months had elapsed since it was agreed to refer the dispute to arbitration, but the masters, instead of showing alacrity to carry the resolution into effect, *jumped from one date to another*, as if afraid of meeting the men according to the terms of the agreement. (Cheers.) The consequence was that a feeling of distrust in the sincerity of the masters had made its appearance, which those who had something to do with the management of the Union had great difficulty in controlling. (Hear, hear.) From each valley, and, indeed, from almost every colliery, a wish had been expressed to hold a public meeting on one of the mountains, but knowing that a large meeting of men, animated by strong convictions, was not the proper place to conduct delicate negotiations—he said 'delicate,' for the masters, by their dilatory conduct, had brought things to such a pass that the least indiscretion would renew the strike. (Expressions of assent.)

The officers of the Union had, therefore, called that meeting together, to take the present position of affairs into their earnest deliberation. He most earnestly hoped that matters would soon be settled, and that the masters would be able to prove that they had not been trifling with the men. (Hear, hear.) But it did appear strange that the masters—those practical men—had not been ready for arbitration before the 29th of January. (Cheers.) But, 'Gwell hwyr nac hwyrach,' and all may go well yet, unless the masters again alter the date of meeting. (Loud cheers.)

"Many other speeches were delivered to the same effect, but the above is a fair illustration of their nature. They were nearly all delivered in the Welsh language.

"The following resolution was submitted to the meeting and carried unanimously;—'That, in the opinion of this meeting, the case of arbitration in connection with the steam coal of Glamorganshire is continually put off, and this meeting strongly disapproves of the conduct of the proprietors in so doing, as it provokes an unpleasant feeling in the minds of the men, believing that on the part of the masters it is an unnecessary delay.' Also the following was carried in like manner:—'That in the opinion of this meeting the delay is an act of injustice both to the arbitrators and the umpire, for the agreement specifies that the dispute must be settled within the six months; but only five weeks remain unexpired to do all the work in. The delay has damaged the confidence the men had

in the sincerity of the masters, but they hope that, late as it is, the masters will delay no longer in carrying the agreement into effect.' (Loud cheers.)

"A discussion took place with reference to the great advance in the price of coal, and lasted a considerable time. The result was the following resolution :—'That this meeting recommends all the colliers employed at the steam coal pits in Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire to take into consideration the advance of wages due, and hopes the men will use their best judgment to obtain the same not later than February 1st, 1872.'

"The next subject before the meeting was the 'eight hours' movement, which all agreed upon was of the utmost importance to all working underground. The following resolution was carried with reference to that movement ;—'That this meeting highly recommends all men, viz., miners and colliers, to do their best to carry out the eight hours system ; steam coal colliers to make the arrangement at the end of the six months ending the 20th day of February, 1872.'

"A general conversation took place with reference to various matters in connection with certain pits which were deemed objectionable. Among the objectionable practices alluded to was the custom of taking on all men who applied for work, whether they understood coal-cutting or not. One reason, said one of the speakers, why colliers and miners were so little regarded was that they had not set a proper value upon

themselves. If a man applied for work, and if there was room for him, he was taken in and taught coal-cutting without any payment for teaching. They saw the sons of all kinds of men underground as door boys, &c. If they were asked whose sons they were, the answer very frequently would be, 'Tom, the son of so-and-so, the shoemaker or carpenter.' *That the children of all sorts of people were taught the mysteries of coal-cutting, and how to conduct themselves underground, was an injustice, and ought to be attended to for the purpose of remedying the evil. (Loud cheers.) But what appeared to be felt by the meeting as a grievous offence was the fact that some boys from various unions were sent into the collieries by the guardians, because by placing them there they saved the rates the charge for apprenticing them. One man said that if he possibly could give some other means to his children of earning a livelihood, they should never enter a coal mine; but here they found the authorities of unions—those guardians of the fatherless—sending the poor boys, without consulting their wishes, and without the watchful care of a father or any other friend, to the dark mines to earn their daily bread. Five of such boys had been brought from a union near London to a pit at Aberdare and twelve to another pit.*

"The meeting evinced a very warm feeling on this subject and it was resolved 'That this meeting unanimously condemns the practice of bringing boys from the various unions of the country into collieries, and the Amalgamated Association of Miners throughout this district will oppose it by all legal means.'

"The meeting lasted five hours, and was conducted with a method which would have done credit to some official assemblies. The men represented were about 12,000."

The masters paid no attention to the report of this meeting, being satisfied that everything within their power had been done to force on the arbitration. They held frequent meetings—almost daily—to arrange the preliminaries. Mr. Theodore Aston was retained as their counsel; Messrs. Gurney, of London, as their reporters.

The variety of interests involved, caused difficulty in forming a programme of the forthcoming proceedings. It had been the intention of the masters to bring about, as far as lay in their power, an equalization of the rates paid for labour in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys on the bases of the rates paid at Merthyr, having due consideration for the relative circumstances of the several pits. "The agreement to refer" widened the area of inquiry, so as to include all the steam coal pits and the works in Monmouthshire and South Wales.

The question arose—whether they should take a general average of the cutting prices of each of the four seams worked in all the twenty-six pits under arbitration, and having so ascertained four sets of figures, as representing the average rates of cutting the 2ft. 9in., 4ft., 6ft., and 9ft. coal in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys, then to direct the attention of the arbitrators to the fact that, these averages were in excess of the average rates paid at Merthyr, Monmouthshire, and the western districts of Glamorgan.

To this plan, objection was taken by certain of the proprietors, that by grouping all the pits into distinct averages for the four seams cut in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys *collectively*, an injury would thereby be inflicted upon owners of pits in the latter, in case a reduction should be awarded, because the rates paid in the Rhondda were about 10 per cent. in excess of those of the Aberdare Valley. The suggestion if acted upon might perpetuate instead of removing the difference. Another plan was urged, and successfully, that *two* statements should be made, the one showing the average rates paid for cutting each of the four seams of coal in the Aberdare Valley, their thicknesses, and the relative capabilities of working; the other to do likewise, so far as concerned the collieries in the Rhondda Valley—the latter statement being again divided into two parts, relating to the upper and lower portions of the valley; the conditions under which coal was found in these two divisions being essentially different.

Mr. Wm. Thos. Lewis prepared his sections and statements accordingly, and they were presented at a meeting on the following Saturday, when a discussion arose as to the form in which they should be submitted to the arbitrators. The *Aberdare* owners were of opinion that the statement should include the rates current in the Rhondda Valley, so as to increase the general average of rates paid at the Associated collieries.

The Rhondda proprietors being yet desirous of bringing under notice the higher average of rates current in the Rhondda as compared with those of the Aberdare, pressed their opinions upon

the meeting, with the distinct object in view of obtaining from the arbitrators an award which should shew the relative values of the labour in the two valleys, after taking into consideration the different sections of the coal and other circumstances. The Rhondda proprietors stated, that in case the award should declare in favour of the Rhondda a greater reduction than that in favour of the Aberdare Valley pits, it did not follow that they would endeavour to enforce such greater reduction; on the contrary, that in all probability they would be satisfied to act with the Aberdare masters in accepting a uniform rate of reduction, but, *they wished to have distinctly placed on record the awarded difference in value*. In fact, they desired two distinct awards—one for the Rhondda and the other for the Aberdare Valley.

The meeting resolved that the arbitrators should treat the whole under one general average, and make one award, but,

“That a special clause shall be inserted, stating that the rates of wages paid by the Rhondda owners as compared with Aberdare shall form the subject of a separate clause in the award, so that the present excessive rates paid in Rhondda shall not appear to be confirmed by a formal award, based upon the average rates paid in the *united* districts of Rhondda and Aberdare.”

The sequel proved that all this discussion and arrangement was unnecessary.

CHAPTER XVII.

January 24th.—The solicitor for the masters was instructed to suggest to the solicitor for the men, that on the first day of the arbitration, the latter should *open the case*, because they (the workmen) had struck work demanding an advance of wages, and that therefore, upon them lay the onus of proving the justice of their claims.

Mr. Stephens, solicitor for the men, did not fall in with this suggestion. He replied that as the masters were seeking to establish rates of wages current at, and modes of working practised in distant places, they (the masters) should open the case, and shew just cause for the changes they desired.

The masters were disinclined to expose all the strength of their evidence to the colliers, as it would only enable the latter to build up a case, which it was supposed by many that they did not possess. It was therefore resolved that the counsel for the employers, Mr. Aston, should impress upon the arbitrators the propriety of the men leading the case, but that in the event of the arbitrators deciding that the masters should do so, then the engineers should be prepared to pursue that course.

It was at first the intention of the masters to object to reporters being present, as the question was purely between themselves and their workmen, but subsequently on reconsideration,

they withdrew their objection on account of the great public interest taken in the dispute. Full reports were published in the press, and, for the benefit of the reader, a condensed report is here given to enable him to form his individual judgment on the case as it proceeded.

At first, Mr. Wm. Thos. Lewis refused to make his statements and sections public, but, the delegates and their solicitor refusing to go on with the arbitration if any facts were blinked or held in reserve, Mr. Lewis found it necessary to withdraw his refusal, and thus the contents of his papers became public property.

29th January, 1872.—The first sitting of the arbitrators was this day held at the Royal Hotel, Cardiff. There were present on this and the four following days, Messrs.

HENRY. T. J. MACNAMARA, Umpire.

G. P. BIDDER, Arbitrator,

ALEX. MACDONALD, Arbitrator.

On behalf of the masters,

THEODORE ASTON, Counsel, instructed by

BENJAMIN MATTHEWS, Solicitor.

JOHN NIXON, Chairman,

D. DAVIS,

L. DAVIS,

D. DAVIES,

J. O. RICHES,

T. WEBB,

C. W. DAVID,

EVAN LEWIS,

A. HOOD,

S. W. KELLY,

REES JONES,

MORDECAI JONES,

Several Managers of Pits,

ALEX. DALZIEL, Secretary.

} Coal Owners.

WM. THOMAS LEWIS, and Assistants,	}	Mining Engineers.
T. FOSTER BROWN		
EVAN DANIEL,		
L. T. LEWIS,		
D. LLEWELLIN,		
W. ADAMS,		

On behalf of the men, Messrs.

T. H. STEPHENS, Solicitor.		
HY. THOMAS,	}	Delegates.
LEWIS MORGAN,		
H. PRITCHARD,		
T. HALLIDAY, President of the Miners' Union.		

At the outset, the question as to whether the masters or the men should lead off, was mooted by the umpire, who addressing Mr. Aston, the counsel for the masters, said, "Do you begin?" That gentleman replied:—

"I think, as the colliery proprietors, whose interests I have the honour to represent here to-day, are satisfied with the existing state of things, the burden would lie rather upon those who would seek to disturb them, and therefore, although possibly a certain advantage might accrue, of having the right to begin, which entails the right to reply, still, I think, as I said before, the masters being content with the *status quo*, really the burden of proof must be upon those who seek to

disturb that status. The facts are these:—In 1871 a certain scale of wages was adopted in the Aberdare and Rhondda districts, and on April 1, 1871, the owners of collieries in the neighbouring districts, who are also ironmasters, reduced the rate of wages to a certain extent. We start with that as the time from which changes are to date. No question arises as to any date prior to May, 1871, and my position is, that the state of things which existed in May, 1871, is the state of things which the colliery proprietors do not seek to disturb. On the other hand, the colliers who are employed by the proprietors are they who seek to disturb the state of things. On April 1, 1871, the colliery owners and ironmasters both reduced the wages to the extent of five per cent. That reduction was adopted by the colliers, and during the month of May, 1871, a scale was adopted which all parties accepted. I now leave the ironmasters' scale of wages on the one side, and state what happened with regard to the scale of wages paid since that time by the colliery proprietors, and you will see that the *status* which was established in May, 1871, is at this very moment the existing *status* as regards the colliery proprietors, and therefore they are contented to abide by this state of things. On May 1st, the workmen in the two valleys of the Aberdare and the Rhondda, made a demand for an advance in their wages to the extent of 10 per cent., to take effect from June 1st. They worked, and were contented to work during May, but they said this having been agreed upon *pro tem.*, that is to say, on April 1st having agreed for the May rate of wages,

and having worked in fact, during the month of May. "Upon May 1st, from and after June 1st, we will insist upon a rise in the scale of wages of 10 per cent." According to the custom of the district, the scale is determined a month beforehand, therefore the reduction was made on April 1st, affecting the month's working in May. On May 1st an attempt was made to obtain an advance which would affect, not the May, but the June working. The colliery owners, when the men made their demand on May 1st, declined to accede to it. On May 31st the men reduced their demand, and offered to accept 5 per cent. advance. This was the last day of the working upon the accepted terms which had been fixed on April 1st, and which were actually paid for the May's working. The coal owners declined to give the 5 per cent.; and the result was the men ceased work on June 1st. In consequence of a remark which he could not help overhearing, it would be necessary to say that he only referred to the reduction on April 1st, that he might have some starting point, otherwise he might go to a prior rise or reduction at some previous period which would say there was a certain alteration—sometimes an advance, sometimes a reduction—before that, and so on. But as he was only concerned to show who it was that disturbed the existing state of things, and therefore upon whom would lie the onus of opening the case and proving their claim, he had fixed what was the last agreed period; and it was with that object that he was referring to the working during May, 1871, because that was the last period during which there

had been a concord of working upon the part of the men, and a concord of payment on the part of the masters.

"The Umpire: Do you mean to say they agreed to the reduction of 5 per cent?

"Mr. Aston: Yes.

"Mr. Stephens: We deny that.

"Mr. Henry Thomas: We agreed upon conditions.

"Mr. Bidder: We only take this, of course, as Mr. Aston's statement.

"Mr. Aston: I will prove that an agreement entered into on April 1st, was to the effect that they should work at a certain stipulated scale.

"Mr. Bidder: Until further notice?

"Mr. Stephens: Was it in writing?

"Mr. Aston: I cannot say.

"Mr. Stephens: It was not.

"Mr. Aston: It might be; but that does not alter the fact.

"Mr. Stephens: There was nothing of the sort.

"Mr. Aston: The men worked upon the stipulated scale. It is not usual to have a written contract as to the scale of wages. Upon May 1st there was a general understanding that the men were to work from May 1st; at least for a month. The reduction was made upon April 1st.

"Mr. Bidder: And would take effect from May 1st.

"Mr. Aston: Very well; that makes my case all the stronger. It appears they were working during both the months of May and April at the reduced scale. Then, sir, I shall have

the altered state of facts to make them stronger in support of the position I am taking. On June 1st the men ceased work. They (the workmen) therefore actually broke in upon the existing state of things, and have to justify what they then did. The strike continued for some time, and I believe certain offers were made on one side or on the other, which came to nothing; but on August 21, the negotiations culminated in an Agreement to Refer. The terms are substantially these:—The coal owners (for I would rather use that term all the way through) on the one side said, 'We will agree that the men shall resume work,' and the men said, 'We will agree to resume work under the existing state of things—namely, the state of things which existed during the months of April and May, provided that it be referred to arbitration, and failing the arbitrators, the umpire to decide what shall be the exact scale which ought to be charged by the workmen, and that which ought to be paid by the coal owners, for the period between August 21, 1871, and the following six months, which would end on February 21, 1872.'

"Mr. Bidder: That is not the only matter referred.

"Mr. Aston: As regards this point, to which I am now directing my attention?

"Mr. Bidder: The agreement to refer speaks of 'disputes and differences as to rates of wages, duration of hiring, mode of working, and other matters.'

"Mr. Aston: Perhaps the other side have some other matters of dispute than the one of wages.

"Mr. Stephens : We have none whatever.

"Mr. Aston : But you cannot go out of the four corners of the agreement.

"Mr. Bidder : Neither do I see how you can get out of the recital of the agreement.

"Mr. Aston read the agreement.

"I am justified in saying that the agreement to refer was intended by both parties to refer to *other matters*. The real question which is now before you is, I admit, that of wages, and, therefore, the coalowners are prepared to accept the then existing state of things—namely, the rate of wages paid in the month of May, 1871, and in the April preceding—that the burden of proof will be upon the parties who seek to disturb that state of things, why it should be so disturbed, and to what extent. If that should not be so, then it would, indeed, be very difficult to decide upon the plan and principle upon which this arbitration is to proceed. I am justified in stating that the coalowners are desirous, conformably with reason and justice, to meet any demands which may be made. They are desirous of entering upon this inquiry in the most conciliatory spirit, and are rather glad of having an opportunity of having a question decided about it. There have been differences of opinion fairly arising out of it. If it can be shown that demands have been made which are reasonable and fair, according to my instructions, those demands are not to be opposed."

A slight pause here ensued, the umpire and arbitrators hesitating to direct either side to proceed. The discussion then branched off, and the question was asked—

“Whether the words in the agreement, ‘duration of hiring, mode of working, and other matters in difference,’ should remain as points to be considered?”

Mr. Aston was quite willing they should be struck out, so that the inquiry could be confined to the question of wages, while, on the other hand,

Mr. Stephens argued that, as he had, at the very outset, objected to them being inserted, and had only withdrawn his objection in deference to the wishes of the masters, he could not now undertake to alter the terms of the agreement to refer, without first consulting the men, whom he represented.

“Mr. Stephens: I have to say in answer to what my learned friend has stated, and I have not the slightest objection to accepting his statement, but will admit it that upon March 1st, 1871, the masters disturbed the existing state of things, and not the men. Of course, it is very easy to jump to a conclusion, and say the disturbance arose with the men because they afterwards gave notice that they should after a certain date, require really and truly nothing more than their original wages. That is the origin of this dispute. Upon March 1st, the masters, who have their accounts

so nicely balanced and finely adjusted, fancied they were paying the men too much, and they gave a notice of 5 per cent. reduction. It is easy to say they were getting 5 per cent. too much, for according to the facts, they really had nothing of the sort. As it must not be forgotten that they are workmen—they are not masters, and do not live in the ease and luxury of the masters, but have to live from day to day upon the wages they earn in the coal pits, and they must not have their wages reduced, unless the masters shall come and give substantial reasons why they do so. They give the ordinary notice that after March 1st, 1871, their wages shall be reduced 5 per cent. It is true the men did not hastily throw up their work and throw the whole of this community into disorder simply because they did not see their way to fall in with the masters' suggestion: but upon May 1st, 1871, they came to the conclusion that they were entitled to an increase in their wages, and gave the same sort of notice as their masters had given them—that they should expect an increase, very properly putting it at 10 per cent. *A number of the masters, who saw the justice of the claim,* gave it, and the collieries went on working; but there were several of the proprietors who did not give it. It is, therefore, clear, that according to these terms, *the original status was broken by the masters,* who gave the first notice for a reduction. They broke the original agreement, in existence upon March 1st, 1871, and it is perfectly ludicrous to jump down to June, 1st, 1871, and say the men first broke the state of things upon that date,

whereas what I submit is the fact that the masters disturbed the existing state of things on March 1st, 1871.

“The Umpire: How long had the state of things remained undisturbed previous to the date you name?

“Mr. Stephens: For several years, and I repeat that it was the masters who first gave notice, on March 1, 1871, thereby breaking the original state of things, and you must go back to that time. It is for the masters to justify themselves, and not for me to begin.

“Mr. Bidder: With reference to these questions of duration of hiring, mode of working, and other matters, I appreciate the force of the argument urged by Mr. Stephens, that it would be absurd to suppose the parties had gone into reference with questions of this kind when the award is only to last six months, unless its effect was intended to be prospective as well as retrospective; and I did think whether it might not have occurred to the minds of the parties at the time this agreement was entered into—they must have contemplated that the effect of the award, though not legally binding, should be a reference for the purpose of making any necessary changes in the future working of the colliery,—because I cannot imagine that the masters and the men would go to the trouble and expense of getting up this reference, if it were merely to last for the six months, which are now nearly expired, and that at the end of that period the old state of things would recur.

“ Mr. Stephens: I think you are quite right. There is no doubt that was the intention; that the arbitration should take place, and, if possible, a regular system be established, to which all parties assented, and under which all parties could go to work amicably. There is no doubt at all about that; but I contend, as I said before, that we did not first break the state of things.

“ Mr. Bidder: That is an argument which cuts both ways—the man who first transgresses is the defendant, you know, and the case has to be made out against him.”

After further discussion, the inquiry was adjourned till Tuesday morning, at 10.30.

The first day was thus spent in discussing who should begin, and that question was not settled. There was considerable public excitement about this difficulty, it being feared that the arbitration would break off entirely.

In the course of the afternoon, in order to limit the scope of the inquiry within manageable bounds, and to afford a reasonable prospect of concluding it within the specified time, the suggestion of Mr. M'Donald, to take a certain number of representative pits, and confine the inquiry to circumstances connected with them, was adopted. The professional gentlemen on each side retired for the purpose of making the selection, it being arranged that twelve collieries should be chosen by each party, as follow :—Three in the Rhondda Valley, three in the Aberdare

Valley, three in Monmouthshire, and three in South Wales, west of the Rhondda Valley.

30th January, 1872.—Second day's sitting.—What transpired during the previous evening, is best conveyed in the words of Counsel, whilst addressing the arbitrators this morning.

“Mr. Aston: I had better state what happened after the breaking up of the meeting yesterday. Before the breaking up of the meeting, I read out a list of the collieries that the coalowners were prepared to take as representing fairly the case. It was then stated that on behalf of the men, their advisers would be prepared, after consulting among themselves, in the course of an hour or two to submit also a list of representative collieries, and it was understood they would be ready about eight o'clock; and it was then agreed that the advisers of the coalowners should confer with the advisers of the men, and compare the lists, and agree upon figures and facts, so as very much to shorten this inquiry. At eight o'clock the advisers of the coalowners and of the men did meet, and then after some time they did submit a list, and that I have before me. The advisers of the coalowners took the list, and for some hours they went into it, and were prepared to make their comments upon it, and state to what extent they agreed or disagreed from the facts and figures there represented. At eleven o'clock they received an intimation that the men did not intend to adhere to the

list which had been then submitted, and accordingly a *new* list was submitted at eleven o'clock, *with a change in the names* of some of the collieries which had been submitted before ; and it is quite true that at eleven o'clock, finding that this *new* list had been submitted by the men, the masters modified their own list. The representatives of the men, finding that very little could be done at that late hour, declined an offer to stay later, but agreed to meet at eight o'clock this morning. At that time the advisers of the coalowners were prepared to go into the list, but no one appeared on behalf of the men. They waited, but not until we met here now at 10.30 have their representatives appeared.

“Mr. Stephens said the men had selected the following twelve steam coal collieries in the various parts of South Wales and Monmouthshire to represent their view of the case :—Aberdare Valley : Abercwmboy, Shepherd's Cwmaman, Abernant Iron Works. Monmouthshire : Penybont, Risca, Upper Varteg. Rhondda Valley : Ynisfaio, Rhondda Merthyr, Dinas. West Glamorgan : Graig Merthyr, Dynevor, and Upper Resolven.

“Mr. Aston : That was the list handed in at 11 o'clock, and not the list handed in at 8 o'clock—that you will admit ?

“Mr. Stephens : We know nothing about that.

"Mr. Aston: But there was one handed in at 8 o'clock, because the advisers of the coal owners were engaged upon its consideration from 8 o'clock to 11 o'clock. There can be no doubt about that.

"Mr. Stephens: When the list was handed in, the men were told they must not have Risca nor Dinas; and when you are told you must not have one colliery or must not have another, what must one do? The men do not say to the masters they must not have such and such a colliery.

"Several voices: Who said so?

"Mr. Bidder: It is no use discussing whether they made a false move or not. It is a pity they do not select a sufficient number, and if they did make a mistake they were entitled to change their list if they liked.

"Mr. Aston: Oh, certainly.

"Mr. Bidder; Well, it is really occupying time, and if you could hand us in your list perhaps we could go on.

"Mr. Aston: You will observe, sir, that the masters having for the first time seen this list now, have to consider how far our list is a proper one, seeing these alterations the men have made. Therefore you must consider that before it is agreed to.

"Mr. Stephens: I do not think there's the slightest chance of agreeing to anything.

"Mr. Aston: I am very sorry to hear that observation.

"Mr. Stephens: Well, the truth of the matter is, that from first to last, any mortal thing suggested by the men is always repudiated by the masters.

"Mr. Aston: I must really contradict that statement with regard to anything which has transpired in this room.

"Mr. Stephens: I repeat, that any suggestion, from first to last, which we have made, has been either repudiated or thrown cold water upon, the masters ever imagining there is some sinister motive behind it.

"Mr. Aston: As far as my experience has gone, I assert that it is not the case.

"The Umpire; We must proceed to deal with the things which are before us. Do you think it necessary to have any time to revise your list?

"Mr. Aston: Yes; because I believed that the collieries selected on the part of the men *last night* would be fair representative collieries, and that being so there would have been no difficulty in looking at the revised list *late last*

evening; but it is found that so far from their collieries being *average* collieries, they are really *extreme* cases, where high prices are paid. Under these circumstances, the masters, to meet these extreme cases, should modify, to the extent they think desirable, the list which they have submitted.

“Mr. Stephens; That opens up the whole issue at once, for when we select collieries the masters say they are not fair ones; and it goes back to the old thing; and it would be much better to go into the whole lot, and see what is the real state of things.

Mr. Stephens, it will be seen, defended the men in their position, when seeking a *second* selection, but denied the right of the masters to a like selection.

“Mr. Aston: I do not shrink from going into the entire list, save and except upon the ground of saving time. The masters are now prepared to put in their list. The men have had the opportunity of considering for many hours the list which would be submitted through their advisers. No doubt they have been guided by certain data upon which to fix their list, and in the same way it would be necessary for the coal owners to consider their list, and observe the bearing and *amount of coal turned out at the various collieries*, and the rates of wages paid in the various districts in which those collieries are situated, and thus make out their own list.

"The Umpire: You had an opportunity of seeing this last list of the men's, I suppose, since eleven o'clock last night. Your advisers have been able to see it this morning from about nine o'clock till now.

"Mr. Aston: Yes, certainly; but no statement with it that it would be the list adhered to, and at this very moment, when I asked Mr. Stephens whether this was the list which would be adhered to, he said 'No.' I would call the attention of the arbitrators and umpire, to the wages and quantities of coal which are raised in the various collieries. I am not quite sure whether there is not necessity for considering the items of all quantities. In collieries where a very large amount would be raised, the proprietors of the collieries would have a great advantage; the operations would be on a large scale, so that they could economically work as compared with collieries where comparatively a small quantity of coal is raised. Everybody connected with the working of a colliery must surely know that to raise 1,000 tons it will cost so much; and that where you have 100,000 tons to raise it can be done at a much lower rate per ton than it could be in the case of raising the first-named quantity. If collieries raising comparatively the same amount of coal are to be compared with other collieries which raise ten or twenty times the amount, that will be taken into consideration. Of course, only two collieries situated in the same district may be taken; and collieries conducted on the same scale as each other, where the necessary amount of capital expended is

somewhat similar, cannot compete in price with establishments which are conducted upon a larger scale.

“Mr. Bidder: It has been suggested, and I think this intimation will considerably smooth the way of your selection, that I should say we are going to take the lists submitted to us as being a sample of all the collieries without reference to the particular circumstances of those collieries; but that we shall be prepared, I take it, to consider any particular circumstance submitted in all cases where there is an exceptionally high or an exceptionally low rate of wages. *It is not to be thought that we are going to take the prices paid at one colliery without inquiring further*, and that being so, I find very little would be gained on either side by taking extreme cases.

“Mr. Macdonald: In respect to the remark of Mr. Aston, I would say that while there is a good deal of truth about it, I, as one who understand the working of a colliery, have found that what he states is not by any means a general rule. The expense of working depends upon many circumstances, with which we are not to deal. We are not considering the question of management. *We cannot look for one moment to the cost of the coal being raised.* We are here to look rather to the amount got by the men.

“The Umpire: I do not feel yet the time has arrived to form any opinion; certainly not to express any definite

opinion upon the elements which are to be taken into consideration. But it is impossible to do justice in many cases without entering into the specific circumstances of each case, so far as they differ and are peculiar.

“ Mr. Bidder : It seems to me you have both been going on the wrong tack, in trying to pick out what was a fair average, for instead of taking simply a fair group of collieries, one side has been taking the extreme cases, and the other side doing the same.

“ Mr. Aston : I beg your pardon, we have not been doing that.

“ Mr. Bidder : Well, I have not yet seen the masters' list.

“ The Umpire : We have not seen the men's statement yet, either.

“ Mr. Bidder : Well, I do not know whether you regard them as extreme cases or not.

“ Mr. Halliday : We know that they were the worst paid places to be found, and that they were objected to for that reason.

“ Mr. Bidder : You are speaking of the masters' list ?

“ Mr. Halliday : Yes.

"The lists were handed in, and, after some discussion, agreed to. The names of nine only of the twelve pits selected by the masters transpired during the course of the day, and they were these:—In the Monmouthshire (or Eastern) district (it having been agreed to take collieries in the Merthyr Valley as in the Monmouthshire district), Dowlais, Plymouth, and Ebbw Vale. Aberdare: Bwllfa, Forchaman, and Lower Duffryn. Rhondda: Pentre, Abergorki, and Llwynipia (Glamorgan Coal Company).

"The comparison of the rates of wages paid, the descriptions of work done, and the circumstances existing in each of the twelve representative collieries selected by the men, were then considered, and the statements by the men as to such rates of wages, descriptions of work, and circumstances existing, were compared with similar statements made by the masters. The representatives of each party, in order to do this, referred to tabulated sheets which each side had prepared. *In every instance a prodigious mass of information had been obtained, and the work, in fact, of many months had been involved in its collection and classification.* (See pages 176 to 178.)

"In the course of the comparison of the wages, &c., a dispute arose as to whether certain classes of workmen were to be considered or not, as coming within the terms of the submission to refer. This was discussed at considerable length. The representatives of the men wished to show that only the men who worked underground were parties to and affected by

the dispute, and that they had, so far as the present arbitration was concerned, no connection with the classes of workmen who were employed above ground. This point Mr. Stephens sought to prove, by referring not only to the words of the agreement—'colliers and other workmen connected therewith'—but to the words in the draft of the original agreement, which were 'colliers and other workmen connected therewith working steam coal,' and asserted that *he only represented those who worked underground*, and had never represented anyone else.

"It was, however, decided by the arbitrators that the terms of the agreement extended to *all classes of workmen* connected with the raising of steam coal.

"The next point possessing any interest, and affording some little amusement, arose during the long and somewhat dry and tedious comparisons, and had reference to the origin of the name "*Billy Fairplay*." The comparisons were being made as regards the Risca Colliery; and Mr. Thomas was asked by

"Mr. Bidder: Is there any screen?

"Mr. Thomas: No screen, sir; Billy Fairplay will never live there! (A laugh).

"Mr. Bidder: Billy what?

"Mr. Thomas: Billy Fairplay, we call him, sir. Where there is a Billy Fairplay, if you can understand what I mean

by that, the collier can only fill coal to a certain size, and what goes through the screen he gets nothing for. - He is only paid for what is weighed where there is a Billy Fairplay, and has to depend upon the generosity of the man who is cropping and looking after the coal.

“Mr. Nixon : I will ask you one question—Who gave the machine the name of Billy Fairplay ?

“Mr. Thomas : Mr. Davies, of Blaengwawr, I suppose.

“Mr. Nixon : Was it not rather the colliers themselves ?

“Mr. Thomas (smiling) ; Well, if they did, I was not alive then. (Laughter).

“Mr. Aston : It shews how old the custom is.

“Mr. Thomas : I don't know how old the custom is.

“Mr. Aston : You can recollect.

“Mr. M'Donald : Would you have given that name if you had been alive ?

“Mr. Thomas : I would give him another now, at all events.

“Mr. Nixon : It is in Mr. Thomas's recollection that there were continual disturbances and strikes in consequence of the cropping.

"Mr. Stephens: '*Billy Fairplay*' was a sarcastic term which came to be used by the men, I take it.

"The arbitrators sat till 6.15 p.m., and then adjourned till 10 o'clock on Wednesday morning.

31st January, 1872—Third sitting :—

"Mr. Aston: With the permission of the arbitrators and umpire, I should like to say one word with reference to *Billy Fairplay*. We had an explanation, and a very interesting one, from Mr. Thomas, yesterday, and it amounted to this, that in coal, as worked, there will be a certain amount of large and a certain amount of small, and it is to the interest of the coalowner that the coal should be obtained in as large lumps as possible. Consequently, if the workmen, either from inexperience, inability, or negligence, should cut the coal in such a state that there is a preponderance of small, the proprietor will be injured by that mode of cutting coal. According to the old custom, before the introduction of the *Billy Fairplay*, the practice was—that when coal was cut and taken away it should be examined. The examiner on behalf of the masters would say—'There is so much of it which is small, that a reduction must be made in the workmen's wages; and the person who did that, was called a cropper, and the process of deducting from the wages the amount in consequence of the small coal was called cropping. Inasmuch as it was entirely

within the discretion of the cropper to what extent the workmen should be charged, he might in certain cases operate unfairly, if he had any particular grudge. Consequently, some one, whether it was a colliery proprietor or one of the workmen I do not know, suggested that it would be advisable to have a *mechanical* examiner; so the screen was introduced, and the small coal—all that fairly ought to be deducted—was deducted by the operation of the screen; so that you will easily see that instead of it being left a matter to discuss with the cropper, a regular rule was adopted. Now, whenever this new thing was introduced—we will suppose many years ago—it was held not sarcastically, as was said by Mr. Stephens, but as a fair and equitable mode and means of ascertaining what could be made, and hence the name of Billy Fairplay was given to it.'

For the first two days, and up to this period, a good spirit was not evinced by Mr. Stephens and Mr. Thomas. Their remarks were acrimonious, and conveyed an unfavourable impression to the masters as to the probability of an amicable settlement. The question of the "Billy Fair Play" was argued unfairly. The men sought to convey two points to the arbitrators in reference to it—the one was, that small coal was first screened and then *recast into waggons amongst the large*. Now, common sense rebels against such a process, and the present opportunity is taken to say that no such practice prevails. Mr. Henry Thomas's allusion was to *one* colliery, where such had formerly been the practice under peculiar circumstances, but the trade generally is quite free from

the charge made by Mr. Thomas. The other point he sought to maintain was, that the collier was not paid for the *small* coal, whilst the master sold it in the open market.

Superficially this is true, but really it is not so. The collier is paid a price per ton for cutting *large marketable coal, hand-picked into trams*. It is part of his bargain that *no small* shall be put into the trams, and therefore the consideration to be paid for the entire service is the price for cutting a ton of *large marketable coal, hand-picked into trams*. Clearly, any payment made by the master to the man for the small which passes the screen, would be but a stultification of the bargain, and act as a premium to the workmen to send the coal to bank in bad condition, as far as small coal and rubbish could make it so.

That the master *sells* this small coal does not really affect the question. He does so now, but for 10 or 20 years there was no market for this commodity—it was laid down in heaps at the collieries at great cost, and it may be said truly that hundreds of thousands of tons are lost for ever. Who pays the colliery owner for this loss? The collier? Certainly not.

The arbitrators then proceeded with the comparisons of the prices paid and the description of work, &c., at the pits, selected on either side as fairly representing the existing state of things. The greater part of the day was taken up with this comparison in detail. Mr. William Thomas Lewis, on the one side, and Mr. Henry Thomas, on the other, went through a tedious statement

of differences, which, in some cases, were not of real moment in themselves, nor of general interest to anyone, but which required to be adjusted before a *general* statement could be made either by the masters or the men.

Although great credit is due to Henry Thomas for the careful manner in which his case was drawn up, the information obtained by him was not from reliable sources, and whether from want of knowledge or otherwise, he sought to bring into the comparison, the higher rates paid at collieries producing *coking* coal.

"Mr. Thomas said the representatives of the men intended to dispute the prices paid at certain collieries, but explained that they were in this difficulty, the prices paid to colliers for day work appeared on the books of the masters at lower rates than was really paid them, the rest being made up in other ways; but he did not say he could get a man to come from that particular works and prove it. Was it likely to expect any person employed there to come and on oath state the fact? He himself could do it—he himself would take his oath upon it—but what other man was there who would do it, and expose himself to what would be the consequence? There was no one, because he knew he must go across the water for doing so.

"Mr. Aston: Well, you should not state what you are not in a position to prove."

The selection of representative pits caused the chief difficulty. The intention at the time of the 'agreeing to refer,' was, to take a general average of the rates paid at *all* the pits in Monmouthshire and South Wales, and upon this plan the masters' case had been prepared at great expense and trouble, by Mr. Wm. Thos. Lewis and the other engineers. The mass of evidence to be examined alarmed the arbitrators and umpire, and with a view to simplyfying the statements, they had thrown out the suggestion about representative pits being chosen. The masters fell in with the proposition, and practically the *work of months* was thrown away.

The next best thing to be done was, to see that in the selection of representative pits, the masters' case should not be prejudiced. The whole fabric being upset and a new basis established, it was difficult both for masters and men on the instant to make a *just* selection and yet agree. The temptations were great on both sides, to select such pits as would represent the *opposing* views. The *general* statement would have avoided this difficulty. Thus it happened that a mutual arrangement was made that *each* side should select 12 pits, viz. :—

Three from each of the following districts, *Monmouthshire*, Western part of *Glamorganshire*, *Rhondda*, and *Aberdare Valleys*, but it seemed as if the departure from the original intention was to bring further trouble, for the pits chosen in the two latter Valleys had to be distinguished as *arbitration* and *non-arbitration*. This was a fruitful source of discussion.

"The Umpire said: What we have just felt is this, that in taking the representative collieries it so turns out, although we suggested there should be three taken out of each description that was mentioned on both sides, that unfortunately the men appear to have taken only one of the collieries under arbitration as a representative colliery, whereas the masters have taken *six*, and having regard upon one side to the class of collieries under arbitration, and on the other side to the class of collieries which would be compared with them, we fear there would be some difficulty in arriving at a proper result, from the discrepancies there would be. And then, also, we are anxious not merely to arrive at a proper conclusion, but that the conclusion we arrive at should give satisfaction, so far as it can give satisfaction. Therefore, we wish to throw out to both sides the suggestion to consider, whether or not it would be more satisfactory to take a larger number of collieries under arbitration.

"Mr. Aston: I am going to make use of the instances which are advanced by Mr. Stephens on behalf of the men as illustrating my case. It does happen in the most singular manner, that Mr. Stephens has thought it right on behalf of the workmen he represents to go into the Rhondda Valley and say that the Rhondda colliers are paid high prices. Well, inasmuch as that is my case, I shall not quarrel with him on that point; and therefore, as far as the evidence is concerned, in shewing that high prices are paid in the Rhondda, I am quite content to take that statement as part of my case. I shall be glad to avail myself of the information he places at my disposal in support of that position. Mr. Aston

then went on to say that such was the theory of the masters—that the steam coal colliers of the Rhondda and Aberdare Valleys were paid at exceedingly high prices, and therefore the masters were placed at a disadvantage as compared with the surrounding districts.”

Considerable discussion ensued on this point, and ultimately the representatives of the men decided to take one or two other collieries which were under arbitration.

The following was the selection finally agreed to, viz. :—

List Selected by the Men.

West Glamorgan.	Monmouth.	Rhondda.	Aberdare.
Graig Merthyr Dyneror Upper Resolven.	Pan-y-bont Risca Tredegar	Rhondda Merthyr Ynyfaïo Dinas Arbitration Nil.	Cwrtaman } Non- Abernant } Arbitration. Abercwmboy, Arbitration. Cwmbach } Arbitration, Navigation } added by Umpire.
3	3	3	5

List Selected by the Masters.

West Glamorgan.	Monmouth.	Rhondda	Aberdare.
Glassbrook Birchrock Dyneyor	Plymouth Cyfarthfa Dowlais (Selected as for the eastern part of Monmouth, by consent).	Non-Arbitration, nil. Pentre Abergorki } Arbitration. Llwynypia }	Non-Arbitration, Nil. Bwlfa Forchaman } Arbitration. Lower Duffryn }
3	3	3	3

These lists pleased neither party, because the selections embraced extreme districts, and the result could not be said to shew fairly what was intended to be shewn—an *average of the whole*. Besides, the shortness of notice did not enable either side to compile statistics relating to the selected collieries, and prepare a case properly by the next morning.

The engineers retired and sat for several hours framing statistics to be placed before the arbitrators, in respect to the selected pits. The men doubtless did the same, but the labour was thrown away, and the figures never published. For the information of the reader they are here given:—

Average Cutting Prices at the 26 selected Collieries.

MEN'S SELECTION.	No. of Pits.	2 ft. 9 in. Seam.		No. of Pits.	4 ft. Seam.		No. of Pits.	6 ft. Seam.		No. of Pits.	9 ft. Seam.	
		Total Section.	Total Cutting Price.		Total Section.	Total Cutting Price.		Total Section.	Total Cutting Price.		Total Section.	Total Cutting Price.
Monmouth	2	6.11	4 3½	3	12.0	6 8½	3	11.6	6 6	...	...	...
Western	2	6.8	5 0½	2	10.0	3 7	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aberdare (arbitration)...	1	2.9	3 8	3	16.1	4 6	2	7.1½	3 9	1	5.1½	1 10
Rhondda (non-arbitra- tion)	...	...	...	3	14.7	4 10	1	4.0	1 10	...	...	...
Additions	5	16.4	13 0	11	52.8	19 7½	6	22.7½	12 1	1	5.1½	1 10
Averages	...	3.3½	2 7½	...	4.9½	1 9½	...	3.9½	2 0½	...	5.1½	1 10
MASTERS' SELECTION.												
Monmouth	2	6.4	6 2½	3	13.8	5 10½	3	9.4½	7 11½	3	24.1	5 10
Western... ..	1	3.11	2 3	3	13.7	4 2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aberdare (arbitration)...	1	2.5½	2 6	3	14.2	5 1	3	11.4	5 7	1	8.9	1 10
Do. (non-arbitration) ...	...	...	...	2	10.2	3 6	1	4.1	1 11	1	9.6	1 6½
Rhondda (arbitration)...	2	7.8	4 6½	1	3.9	1 7	...	...	...	1	6.3	1 10
Additions	6	20.4½	15 5½	12	55.4	20 2½	7	24.9½	15 5½	6	48.7	11 0½
Averages... ..	...	3.4½	2 7	...	4.7½	1 8½	...	3.6½	2 2½	...	8.1	1 10
Above additions	...	16.4	13 0	...	52.8	19 7½	...	22.7½	12 1	...	5.1½	1 10
Ditto.	...	20.4½	15 5½	...	55.4	20 2½	...	24.9½	15 5½	...	48.7	11 0½
Totals	11	36.8½	28 5½	23	108.0	39 9½	13	47.5	27 6½	7	53.8½	12 10½
Average of the whole ...	...	3.4	2 7	...	4.8½	1 8½	...	3.7½	2 1½	...	7.8	1 10

"During the course of the day, the Umpire said, 'the court would feel obliged if, after all the collieries it had been intended to take as representative collieries had been gone through, Mr. Aston would open the case on behalf of the masters—not putting it as a matter of right, but simply as one of convenience.'

"Mr. Aston accepted the suggestion, and intimated that he would open the case the following morning."

The court adjourned till 10.30 a.m. Thursday.

February 1st, 1872.—A new phase exhibited itself. Suggestions had been thrown out that possibly a *compromise* could be made. A private interview took place between the parties, and after two hours' consultation an arrangement was entered into. Immediately after the sitting of the arbitrators, Mr. Aston said:—

"It is my agreeable duty to announce that the proceedings of this conference have terminated in an agreement which is, as far as I can understand, a very fair one to the parties who are mutually interested in it. At one time I approached these proceedings with fear and trembling. I say so advisedly, because the matters in question were of such magnitude that I feared, in the first instance, that even if one's powers were equal to the occasion, time alone would prevent you from satisfactorily dealing with them, and I should have sincerely regretted that the new system should at the outset have failed, either from inherent inability on the part of those who had to deal with

it, or to do so within the time prescribed. It is with the most unfeigned satisfaction I state that these proceedings have terminated satisfactorily. There have been objections made to the settling of wages disputes by reference to arbitration; we have been told by many people that what are the alleged conflicting interests between capital and labour should be left to fight their own battle. To my mind, these interests, when examined, are found not to be conflicting, save and except, possibly, in the same sense that one may say fire conflicts with water when fire is applied to the vivifying of water into steam, and endowing it with the energy of active life. One may fairly compare the effect of fire upon water to the effect of capital upon labour, and just as the fire vivifies the water and gives it the energy of life, so capital gives to labour a life of productive and remunerative energy. It is a good thing that instead of the old rule of leaving wages and labour, capital and labour, to jostle one another into a kind of grumbling concord, men have now become wiser, and have found that by bringing employers and employed together, and giving them an opportunity of explaining their mutual differences and unfolding their mutual views, a satisfactory settlement may be come to; and I am exceedingly glad that I have had a part in making an experiment, which has proved so successful. Sir, having said that, generally with regard to the proceedings in this case, I will now state the terms come to. The terms to be made the basis of an award are these:—
The arbitration workmen to be paid *an advance of 2½ per cent. upon the rates paid in May, 1871, for wages from*

August 20th, 1871, to February 20th, 1872. That taking it as admitted, that an advance of 10 per cent. upon the now existing rates of wages is about to be made by the proprietors of the ironworks in the neighbouring districts, the arbitration proprietors will make such a further advance in wages as will make the rates payable in their works $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. higher than those paid there in May, 1871; this further advance to take effect from February 21st, 1872, it being understood that any further rise or fall that shall take place in the ironworks of Monmouthshire and South Wales subsequently to the 10 per cent. now contemplated shall regulate any subsequent rise or fall that shall be made in the arbitration works; but that no rise or fall in wages payable to colliers in particular ironworks, independently of any general rise or fall, shall affect the wages that shall be payable in the arbitration works. Then, sir, it is further agreed that, in case any differences may arise upon the award, they be referred to Mr. Macnamara, or, failing him, to some referee to be named by the parties, or, if they cannot agree, to a referee to be named by one of the judges of her Majesty's superior courts. Now, sir, these terms appear to me, and I trust that they will appear to all who are mutually interested in them, reasonable and fair, and they carry out the instructions which have been given me on behalf of the coal proprietors of the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys from the outset, namely, to meet this inquiry in a fair and conciliatory spirit; and, if it has not been

so met, it has been distinctly my own fault, and not the fault of the instructions which have been given me. I have endeavoured to carry out these instructions, and I believe that it has been owing to the spirit in which the masters have met the requests made to the workmen; and I say, on the other hand, also, it has been owing to the very fair and candid way in which the representatives of the workmen have here in this room stated their case, that we have been enabled to arrive at the very satisfactory settlement which I have had the honour now to lay before you. (Applause.) But, sir, I have to go even beyond the terms which I may myself, I think, characterise as being exceedingly liberal, that are here offered to the workmen by the coal proprietors, for although it is here stated that the proprietors have agreed to pay an advance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the wages that were paid in May, 1871, I have their authority for saying, that they would be perfectly willing to make the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., (by a further present on their part), a sum of 5 per cent. They will give another $2\frac{1}{2}$, making it 5 per cent. altogether, *if the workmen on their side, will agree that the fund of 5 per cent. shall be formed into a fund to provide for cases of accidents, and to meet the wants that may arise from accidents among their workmen and those engaged upon their works henceforth.*

The Umpire: Entirely in their own interest, to make provision for their wives and families themselves.

Mr. Aston : Yes ; to make provision for their families in case of fatal accidents. I trust that the workmen will be wise enough in their generation to accept the offer that is made by the colliery proprietors. It is stated on the face of this agreement that the further advance is to take effect from the 21st February, 1872. Upon reflection, the masters have decided that the advance shall take place from *to-day*, as marking their sense and approval of the manner in which the workmen have met them upon this occasion.

The Umpire : Nothing could be clearer than your statement Mr. Aston, and I am sure nothing could be more satisfactory to us than to hear that this arrangement has been come to. We may congratulate both the employers and the employed upon the conciliatory and excellent spirit which they have shown towards each other.

Mr. Stephens : Will you allow me to say a word or two—that having embarked in this case, and feeling from the first, I candidly admit it, the desirability of peace and quiet-going in this district, I can assure you that I came here *to-day* impressed with the same sentiments as my learned friend (if he will allow me to call him so) has expressed. I came thoroughly impressed with the desirability that everybody should see that capital and labour ought to go together. It so happened that only this morning I chanced to be reading a work upon the subject, and when I closed it to come here, I felt convinced that that ought to take place. That

was entirely my own idea; and I had a few words with Mr. Thomas, who, you will admit, has most ably managed this case, and has been prepared to give explanations whenever they were required, and I suggested to Mr. Thomas, and I took it upon myself to say a few words to the colliery proprietors upon the subject. Therefore it is a great satisfaction to me to find that this result has been come to. I wish also to state that although I might have appeared antagonistic, at the same time I was never in any way what one might call whining; but I felt that it is wiser that the matter should come into a room of this kind, in order that people might see and examine and think for themselves, and it has really been the result of these few days which has brought me to this conclusion. I must say, when I look round the room and see so many friends of mine opposite, I cannot exactly express how obliged I feel to them that they should have fallen in with this arrangement, and also for the very kind and noble suggestion which they have made with regard to fatal accidents; and also in marking their pleasure by giving an increase from to-day. I am quite sure that such kindness on their part must have a most beneficial effect. I only wish that it was in my power to go up into the hills now, and speak to the men in their own native language. I would give anything if I could only do that, for I should like to devote a week to do it—to make them see how necessary and important it is in this world to give and take a little. And they ought also to feel that we are

only dealing with gentlemen who have generous hearts, and are willing at any time, whenever occasion arises, to come forward, as I have endeavoured to say several times, and lend a helping hand to their men. I also feel bound to say that there never was a board of arbitrators which, to my mind, was so calculated to deal with a difficulty of this kind as the present. I feel that I individually ought to thank you, Mr. Macnamara, as the umpire, and also Mr. Bidder and Mr. Macdonald for the great attention that you have given to this matter. I can only say this, that my most complete confidence has rested with you, and I hope you will feel satisfied in hearing that I never have uttered words that came more from my heart than when I say that in addressing you, the umpire in this case, and also Mr. Bidder and Mr. Macdonald, I can assure you I have done it with the most complete satisfaction to my mind. I should have been satisfied with anything that you did, and I am only happy, and I am sure you too, feel so, that we ourselves have come to a decision of which we wish you to be the mouthpiece.

“ Mr. Aston : Allow me entirely to reciprocate and endorse the feelings which Mr. Stephens has so properly expressed with regard to the tribunal before whom we have had the honour of appearing.

“ The Umpire : I am sure that, as between the masters and the men, Mr. Stephens has conducted this case with a

great deal of consideration for both parties, and has greatly conduced to the satisfactory result.

“ Mr. Macdonald : I would only say this, that it has afforded me pleasure to come here and see the generous spirit in which the men have been received. As far as I am concerned, I shall return home with a lighter heart, than I have had upon any journey which I ever performed in my life. I do trust that this will be the beginning of a new era between the employers and the employed in these valleys, and that, further, they both will begin to see from this moment that while capital has its rights, it has also its obligations, and that while labour has its rights it has also its obligations, that there will be mutual concord, and that we have seen the very last strike that will ever take place in our day in these valleys. (Applause.) Only one thing I will add, that whether it be on the side of the men or on the side of the employers, so long as I have anything to do with working-men, I shall always be ready and willing to throw my hand in, to take the glove out of the hands of both parties, and try and reconcile them.

Mr. Bidder : I only wish to endorse what has fallen from my friends, Mr. Macnamara and Mr. Macdonald, and to say that I feel with Mr. Macdonald, that no business in which I ever took part in my life has ever given me more satisfaction than sitting here as one of the arbitrators in this case. I confess that I came down, I think like the most

of us, with some doubt and some trepidation, and more especially, because I felt that I was in a position which is sometimes regarded as a very anomalous one, namely, that of what is called a partisan arbitrator; and I was afraid that passions might run high and interests might be conflicting, and that they might look to me rather to take and enter more fully into the views of the one side than the other. Nothing was a more agreeable surprise to me than when I came here to find that all doubts of that kind were utterly without foundation, and that there was evident upon the part of everyone on each side, a sincere desire to bring the whole case fairly and fully out, and not simply that their own side should succeed, and that what was fair should be done. Nothing was more satisfactory than to see the feeling manifested on both sides, both on the part of the masters, and on the part of the men, and those who represent them not a desire to catch a point, or to trip up an adversary or to gain any unfair advantage, but simply an honest and fair desire that truth should appear, and right and justice be done. Had not that spirit been manifested, probably our proceedings would have done more harm than good, and embittered evil feelings instead of leading to concord; and I am very glad to think that I have in any way contributed to the very happy, and I believe, substantial, lasting, and beneficial result which we have arrived at to-day.

Mr. Aston: Then, sir, the offer of the masters will be embodied in the award in such a form as you think fit.

The Umpire: It had better be signed by all three of us, I think.

Mr. Aston: If you please, as it will be more gratifying to the parties.

The Umpire: And if any difficulty at all should arise, we should refer for further instructions to Mr. Matthews on the one side, and Mr. Stephens on the other.

Mr. Bidder: There is only one little point, Mr. Aston, in which it occurred to me there might be a little ambiguity; that was with regard to what you said subsequently as to the masters being prepared to make the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. 5 per cent. if the men would allow it to go to a fund for provision in cases of fatal accident. I did not quite understand whether that was to apply simply to the 5 per cent. during the particular six months, or whether it was intended that it should be arranged, that for the *future*— $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. should be set apart by the men, week by week, and month by month.

Mr. Aston: No, it refers only to the six months.

“Mr. Bidder: I only throw that out as a consideration for the men, that it would be a very happy opportunity for originating a fund of that kind, and that it would be a very wise and prudent thing for them to consider, whether they

should not endeavour to obtain the general consent of the working body to make that the nucleus of a continually accumulating fund for a provision of that kind; and instead of taking the 5 per cent. for the particular six months only, they should agree to set apart 5 per cent. from month to month to form a substantial fund.

“Mr. Nixon: I fear that 5 per cent. would be too much. One $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. will be our contribution, and will not be awarded, but will be given as a present to the men, as the contribution of the masters to that fund. We had in view the obtaining of a provision for the men, and I am sure the masters will be in accord with me with regard to the desirability of doing that; but what we now propose is, that the 5 per cent. which has been the bone of contention, should be made a peace-offering for a good purpose, that in the case of fatal accidents, the family of a man who has been killed may not be without relief. What we propose is, that it should be managed jointly by the masters and the men. However, it entirely depends upon the workmen whether it is so done or not. Of course, the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. awarded by you belongs to them from August.

“Mr. Macdonald: If my words can do anything with the men by being expressed out of doors here, I shall say that if there is one thing which has struck me more than another on the part of the masters, it is their generous, and as I

will call it, noble offer. I may state that in Northumberland and Durham there is a permanent fund on a principle something similar to this, and they have now in Lancashire and Cheshire formed rules to the same effect, forming between the two a fund managed by the employers and by the workmen. I trust that the result of this generous offer will be, that it will find a response from the whole 12,000 workmen in these valleys, that there will not be one mean enough to ask for the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and that they will generally accept it and appoint a committee at an early day for the purpose of managing the fund. And further, I trust that it will not rest there, but will be continued by subscriptions of 1s. a year or 2s. a year, whichever will adequately meet the loss of life and injury. For, while we have our explosions occurring in Wales, and Northumberland, and Durham, and Lancashire, and Yorkshire, that sweep off their 100 or 150 people at once, we have the daily deaths, which are something more alarming; and I have long wished for the time when a provision shall be made for those deaths. I do trust that the subject will be taken now, and that not only will it be taken advantage of to meet the large explosions, but also to meet the distress occasioned by the ordinary daily deaths. If the influence of my voice can go any length with those men, it will be exerted to ask them, and to implore them, to receive such a generous offer in the spirit in which it is made, and let it rest as a peace-offering, and as has been properly said by Mr. Nixon,

arbitration and award of 2 persons (1 to be appointed by each party) and their umpire, provided that, in fixing the rates of wages and prices, the arbitrators and their umpire should be governed by the rates paid for similar descriptions of work at other collieries and works raising steam coal in Monmouthshire and South Wales. And it was thereby further agreed, that the arbitration should be proceeded with and concluded within the space of six months from the said date in conformity with the provisions of the Common Law Procedure Act, 1854, that the award of the said arbitrators or umpire should be binding on the parties thereto for the space of 6 months from the date of resuming work, and that 5 out of every 100 men employed in each pit should be at liberty each month on giving the usual months' notice to quit their employment, the 'proprietors having a similar power of discharge,' notwithstanding that such men might have signed the said agreement. And it was thereby further agreed that, pending the making of the said award, the colliers and other workmen should resume work, being paid draws on account at the usual times and in the customary manner, based upon the rates of wages paid for the month of May, 1871, the excess or reduction being accounted for by the parties respectively on the award being made. And it was thereby further agreed that the parties should respectively bear their own costs of the reference, and that the costs of the umpire should be borne equally between them; and whereas the said Steam Coal Collieries, the proprietors whereof were parties to the said agreement, are the following:—

Lower Duffryn	}	in the Aberdare Valley.
Middle Duffryn		
Old Duffryn		
High Duffryn		
Aberaman		
Abergwawr		
Forchaman		
Cwmneol		
Cwmdare		
New Tredegar		
Navigation		
Deep Duffryn		
Abercwmboy		
Blaengwawr		
Bwllfa		
Nantmelyn		
Lletty Shenkin		
Cwmbach (Aberdare)		

Ferndale	}	in the Rhondda Valley.
Ocean Pits		
Pentre and Church		
Llwynypia		
Bute (Merthyr)		
Boedryngallt		

“AND, WHEREAS, the date of resuming work, mentioned in the said agreement, was the 21st day of August, 1871. And, whereas, afterwards and within the said period of six months, George Parker Bidder, Barrister-at-Law, was appointed arbitrator by the said colliery proprietors, and Alexander Macdonald was appointed arbitrator by the said colliers and workmen, and Henry Tyrwhitt Jones Macnamara, Barrister-at-Law, was appointed umpire by the said arbitrators. And, whereas, afterwards, that is to say, on the 29th day of January, 1872, the said arbitration was commenced at Cardiff, in the said County of Glamorgan, before us the said arbitrators and umpire, and was there continued on the 30th and 31st days of January, and on the first day of February. And, whereas, on the last mentioned day, the said colliery proprietors, and the said colliers and workmen by their duly authorised representatives then and there present, agreed to certain terms, not only for the settlement of past disputes and differences between them, as to rates of wages, but also for the purpose of preventing such disputes and differences for the future, and requested that we the said arbitrators and umpire should make joint award embodying the terms so agreed upon between them, and discharged us from including or adjudicating upon any other matters in our award. Now, therefore, we the said arbitrators and umpire, in pursuance of such agreement and request, do award and determine as follow :—

1.—“ That the said colliers and workmen shall be paid by the said proprietors respectively an advance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the rates of wages paid in May, 1871, for and in respect of wages from the 20th day of August in that year, to the 1st day of February, 1872.

2.—“ That taking it as admitted that an advance of 10 per cent. upon the now existing rates of wages is about to be made by the proprietors of the iron works in the neighbouring districts of South Wales and Monmouthshire, the said colliery proprietors shall further advance their rates of wages, so that the sum payable to their colliers and workmen shall be $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. higher than those paid to them in May, 1871, and on the proposal and at the request of the said proprietors. We direct such further advance to commence and take effect from the 1st day of February, 1872, instead of commencing from the date of this award.

3.—“ That any general rise or fall that shall hereafter take place in the rate of wages payable at the said iron works subsequently to the said rise of 10 per cent., about to be made, shall be followed by a corresponding rise or fall in the rates paid by the said colliery proprietors, but that no rise or fall in the rates of wages payable at any particular iron works, independently of any general rise or fall shall affect the wages payable by the said colliery proprietors.

4.—“That in case any disputes or differences arise upon this award, they shall be referred to the decision of the said umpire, or failing him to an arbitrator to be named by the said colliery proprietors, and their colliers and workmen, or, if they cannot agree, to an arbitrator to be named by one of the judges of Her Majesty’s Superior Courts.

“As Witness our hands this 13th day of February, 1872.

GEORGE P. BIDDER, Arbitrator.

ALEXANDER MACDONALD, Arbitrator,

HENRY T. J. MACNAMARA, Umpire.

WITNESS to the signatures of

Mr. Bidder, Mr. Macdonald,

and Mr. Macnamara,

THO. WHITTALL,

Clerk to Mr. Macnamara.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IN commenting upon the terms of the adjustment, we have presented to our view, the

2½ per cent. as additional wages during the period—20th of August, 1871, to the 1st of February, 1872.

The above 2½ per cent. supplemented by 10 per cent. from the 1st February, 1872, upon future earnings.

The agreement for wages to rise and fall, with the wages paid to the colliers engaged at the ironworks of Monmouthshire and South Wales.

Disputes as to the meaning of the award to be referred to the umpire.

The proposition by the masters for the formation of an "Insurance Fund" against fatal accidents.

To address ourselves to the consideration of the 2½ per cent. conceded by the masters, is to re-open the entire question, and this should be done in such a manner, as to convey clearly and

concisely, the nature of the men's demand, the masters' refusal, and the result of that refusal.

There does not appear to have been evidence placed before the arbitrators, that the coal and iron masters were *not* justified in reducing wages on the 1st March, 1871, so that it must be accepted as a proper act on the part of these gentlemen. They were in perfect accord as to the advisability of that step, but, to the fact of their having varied amongst themselves the manner of its operation, must be attributed the widely concerted action on the part of the colliers to obtain a reversal of the position. Mr. Henry Thomas, the mouth-piece of the men, stated that "*when the 10 per cent. advance was asked, they did not expect to get it.*" This movement meant the recovery of the 5 per cent. deducted in the previous March. The colliers argued fairly enough, that the ironmasters of Merthyr and Dowlais, and the non-associated owners of collieries in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys, *had* conceded the point, and, therefore, how was it that the associated masters could *not* afford to do so?

There were good reasons why the ironmasters and *non-associated* coal masters *should* give the advance, and there were reasons equally good why the *associated* masters should *not*.

In May, 1871, there were premonitory signs of a general disturbance in the labour market of the country. Organizations were being set on foot throughout Great Britain for the general improvement of the working classes. A somewhat healthier tone

pervaded the metal markets, and the ironmasters of the two counties, Monmouth and Glamorgan, looking forward to a better state of things, deemed it wiser to make this concession than to drive their skilled workmen to Yorkshire and Durham, where there was considerable demand, at higher wages, for this description of labour.

Possibly they might be right; and in all probability they were, because the healthier state of trade *did* set in. Where the ironmasters were to blame was, that after uniting with the coalowners for *concerted* action in the preservation of the existing wage rate, they yet took *individual* action diametrically opposed to the interests of the latter. They employed the workmen who were out on strike, and in certain instances offered inducements for the permanent transfer of the colliers to the ironworks' pits—they increased their output of coal, and supplied the customers of the *associated* masters. This is an experience which the coalowners in future years must profit by. They should not retaliate—they should forgive—but not forget.

The course pursued by the *non-associated* coal owners, was characterized by nearly similar acts, but without any redeeming feature as to the prospects of the coal trade. With those gentlemen, it was a calculation of how much money they could make by producing their smokeless steam coal in larger quantities whilst the *associated* masters were out of the market. With them the advantage was immediate, but short (depending entirely on the duration of the strike). With the ironmasters, the advan

was of a more permanent character. We have seen how both profited by the strike in the increase of the production of coal, for which enhanced prices were obtained, by reason of the withdrawal for the time being, of the associated masters' produce.

The colliers, in striking against their employers shewed themselves to be a misguided race of men. The concession of 2½ per cent. subsequently to the strike could not possibly compensate them for all the privation and sufferings of their families. Who can estimate the amount of misery endured in that unhappy period of 12 weeks? Had the associated masters' pits been producing coal, the general condition of trade would not have been improved, but the reverse. The higher prices obtained by the non-associated masters would not have existed. The improvement which began to set in with the iron trade in July and August, was not *immediately* followed by a like state in the coal trade. The implication of the foregoing remarks, is, that the motives which actuated the ironmasters, were wanting in the case of the non-associated coalowners. The positions were not parallel.

There were many reasons why the associated masters should *not* have given the advance in May last. In the first place, the general state of the steam coal trade had not improved. Pits were not in full work; and, steam coal property was unprofitable. The miners were acting upon the policy of "restriction of get." The discipline underground was not well preserved, and a deep impression had been created by the conjoint statement of managers as to the insubordinate condition of the men. Moreover, the report of the



committee, appointed to inquire into the disparity of wages paid at the iron masters' pits and coal owners' pits, stating so clearly the disadvantages under which the coal trade lay in competition with their near and wealthy neighbours, the associated masters had ample ground to justify them in refusing to make an advance in wages.

The result of the refusal assumes the form of a loss or gain. The masters calculated that they would lose the sale of coal for three or four months at least, with a probability of a further loss in slowly recovering their hold upon the markets,—the damage to be sustained by the non-production of coal from gaseous pits,—and the heavy standing charges which fall upon the books of a colliery whether coal be produced or not. As a matter of course, these contingencies arose, and the masters had to incur an outlay of many thousands of pounds; the recovery of which in after times, was problematical. Their *gain* lay in the strugg' having successfully evolved a dormant principle of equity—principle of arbitration, one that laid the foundation of a p' which promises well for the future stability of working. Wi conceived, may it as wisely receive effect, in any future differe between employers and employed.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE next table will shew the *diminished* production of steam coal from the pits belonging to the associated masters, in consequence of the strike :—

Owners.	Pits.	1870.	1871.	Decrease.	Increase
ABERDARE.					
Powell Duffryn Company	9 Pits	749,469	574,061	175,408	...
Nixon, Taylor and Cory	Navigation and Deep Duffryn	278,546	185,565	92,981	...
D. Davis and Sons ...	Blaengwawr and Abercwmboy	138,712	125,477	13,235	...
Aberdare Coal Company	Cwmbach	90,267	75,220	15,047	...
Lletty Shenkin Company	Lletty Shenkin	57,371	35,468	21,903	...
Mordecai Jones	Nantmelyn	89,708	72,516	17,192	...
Bwllfa Company.....	Bwllfa	104,927	68,528	36,399	...
RHONDDA.					
Marquis of Bute	Cwmsaebron	67,346	49,056	18,290	...
David Davies & Co.....	3 Ocean Pits	290,999	226,043	64,956	...
Pentre Company	Pentre	50,791	16,588	34,203	...
Glamorgan Coal Co. ...	Llwynypia	22,463	46,926	...	24,463
D. Davis and Sons ...	Ferndale	100,491	71,790	28,701	...
Sympson and Warner	Bodryngallt	10,602	8,490	2,112	...
Non-associated masters who resisted :—					
G. Insole and Son.....	Abergorki	132,343	95,162	37,181	...
Coffin and Company...	Dinas	45,495	51,171	...	5,676
		2,229,530	1,702,061	557,608	30,139
		1,702,061	...	30,139	...
		527,469	...	527,469	...

To indicate the temporary advantage gained by the majority of the ironmasters and the non-associated colliery proprietors, the following table will shew the *increased* production from their several pits :—

	Owners.	Pits.	1870.	1871.	Increase.	Decrease.
Iron Masters	Dowlais Iron Company	...	198,371	216,458	18,087	...
	Rhymney Iron Company	...	10,946	10,460	...	486
	R. T. Crawshay	Cyfarthfa	36,672	40,023	3,351	...
	R. Fothergill	Plymouth	75,424	83,032	7,608	...
	R. Fothergill	Abernant	160,608	192,043	31,435	...
	S. Thomas	Sguborwen	99,045	108,210	9,165	...
Coal Owners	Wayne & Co.	Gadlys	126,611	151,994	25,383	...
	Heath, Evans & Co.	Werfa	58,812	67,901	9,089	...
	Cwmaman Co.	Cwmaman	78,357	104,577	26,220	...
	Rhys & Richards	Mer. Dare	38,670	37,534	...	1,136
	Dunraven Co.	Dunraven	98,915	94,349	...	4,566
	Cope & Co.	Ynysfaio	24,918	37,354	12,436	...
	Thomas Jones	Tylacoch	30,491	31,853	1,362	...
	Eben. Lewis	Rh. Merthyr	44,942	45,932	990	...
			1,082,782	1,221,720	145,126	6,188
				1,082,782	6,188	
				138,938	138,938	

The year 1870 was unfavourable for the coal trade, and therefore the comparison may scarcely be considered equal, but, on the other hand, trade in 1871, up to June, was also unfavourable, when the withdrawal of the associated masters' produce, enabled the ironmasters and non-associated coal owners to sell their coal in greater quantities. The producers of *other* districts also availed themselves of the opportunity, so it may fairly be assumed that Wales lost during the strike, and *subsequently*, by short production, the sale of half a million tons of coal.

The loss of capital to the employers might be recouped, but in the case of the men, who can estimate the loss of health caused by illness and semi-starvation, the injury to the constitutions of thousands of women and children, for want of sufficient and proper food.

The loss of wages alone during the twelve weeks, to the average number of 10,000 workmen, would probably be £120,000. Against this they received from the Union the paltry sum of £6,383 1s. 2d. The men threw away £120,000 in fighting twelve weeks for $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. = £3,000, or £250 per week. Supposing the wage rate not to fall, then it will take the colliers $9\frac{1}{4}$ years to replace themselves in the position they occupied before the strike. It cannot be alleged that the 10 per cent., conceded from the 1st of February, 1872, was in the slightest degree the result of the strike. They received that 10 per cent. for reasons irrespective of any question then involved.

It is difficult to say what good result the men gleaned from this strike, unless it be the experience of a struggle which deprived themselves and families of bread. Whether that experience will have a *lasting* effect is much to be doubted, and it is not beyond the range of possibility, that the capitalists of Monmouthshire and South Wales, will, in process of time, have to contend with a combination so powerful, as to tax to the uttermost their capital, and their patience.

ironmasters having promised prospectively ten per cent. advance from the 1st of March, 1872, the coal owners, as an act of good will, forestalled the expiration of the "Agreement to Refer," (20th February, 1872,) and granted the 10 per cent. advance from the 1st February, 1872. The generally improved state of the coal trade throughout Great Britain, affords sufficient explanation for this further advance coming into operation immediately after the award of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; but, as said before, the two subjects had no reference to each other.

CHAPTER XX.

IN arranging that the rise and fall of wages in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys should be guided by the *general* rise and fall of wages at the ironmasters' pits in Monmouthshire and South Wales, a principle was laid down which was intelligible to the meanest capacity—a principle which, on the face of it, bore the stamp of equity, and won the approval of all who had watched this struggle from the first. On the making of this suggestion, the colliers asked, and the masters expressed themselves as content, that the subject of the *disparity between the rates paid at Merthyr, Doulais and Cyfarthfa, and the rates paid in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys*, might be closed for ever.

It may therefore be presumed that, unless a radical change should take place in the existing state of affairs, we have heard the last about these differences in rates, which first found public notice in the local press of 1868 and 1869, in a correspondence between two anonymous writers signing themselves respectively—

“*Equality*,” on behalf of the coal owners, and

“*Audi alteram partem*,” on behalf of the ironmasters.

The parties to the arbitration wisely made provision for a contingency, which it was to be hoped would not arise, *i.e.*, as to further reference in case there should be contrary interpretations put upon the language of the award. They mutually arranged that, should such be the case, the question arising should be left to the settlement of the umpire, or, failing him, to an arbitrator to be named by the proprietors and the colliers; or, if the parties could not agree to this course, then to an arbitrator to be named by one of the judges of Her Majesty's superior courts.*

* Two further references to the umpire took place. The decisions by that gentleman were faithfully adhered to by both parties, and thus an additional value was found in the principle of arbitration. The Engineers and Stokers gave notice to all the Associated Masters on 1st June, 1872, that they required the adoption of the eight hours system. The notices were held over, and a meeting of the trade took place at the Royal Hotel, Cardiff, on 5th July, 1872, at which delegate Engineers attended. The masters asserted that the "Agreement to refer" and Award included the Engineers, and that inasmuch as the Ironmasters had not altered the working hours of the Engineers, the Associated Masters could not do so, but that they were willing to make the concession required of eight hours' turn, or 3 men in 24 hours, in the case of engines winding 300 tons of coal per day, because of the strain on the energies of the men, and the greater risk to life and property, but that no concession would be made to the men who attended pumping and underground hauling engines. The Engineers contended that they were *not* included within the arbitration, because some of them were *working* during the period of the strike, and further, that Engineers, as a class, should not be included within the words "*colliers and other workmen.*" Eventually, however, they agreed to send the following case to the Umpire :—

"Questions have arisen as to whether Enginemen and Stokers are comprehended in the late award under the words Colliers and other workmen.

"The proprietors contend they are so comprehended, and refer the umpire to the short-hand notes of the enquiry (herewith).

"The enginemen or engineers, on the other hand, say they are not so comprehended, and that had they been included in the before-mentioned words, they should have been referred to distinctly by name, and they cannot be included in the words 'other workmen.'

"Some of the enginemen and stokers were not on strike at, and during the period of the late disputes, and were not reduced the five per cent. in their wages as the colliers had been.

"Some of the enginemen and stokers were reduced and joined in the strike.

"That being so, were they, the enginemen who continued working and were not reduced, entitled to the full advance of 12½ per cent. on the wages paid in May, or only to 7½ per cent., and what amount of advance should be given to those enginemen who were reduced the 5 per cent.

"Upon these points the opinion of the umpire is desired.

In April, 1872, the general buoyancy of trade forced up the price of coal, and the men commenced again to agitate for an advance in wages. The following resolutions are specimens of several of their kind, passed at delegate meetings held at Mountain Ash, Pontypridd, and elsewhere :—

"In the matter of the Steam Coal Collieries in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys and their Colliers and Workmen.

"I am of opinion that the enginemmen and stokers of the respective collieries mentioned in the award of the 13th of last February are comprehended within it, and are subject to its provisions.

"The submission to arbitration recited that disputes had arisen between the proprietors of the said collieries and the colliers and other workmen connected therewith, and the object of the arbitration was to settle such disputes. The enginemmen and stokers were clearly 'workmen connected' with the collieries (which is the meaning of the word therewith), and they and the colliers form part of the same system and are dependent upon each other in the working of the colliery. If it is objected to this view, that the submission provided for five out of every one hundred men employed in each pit being at liberty to leave in each month on giving a month's notice to quit, I think that the answer is, first, that this provision does not determine the parties to the arbitration, even if the liberty to leave be confined to men working in the pit; and, secondly, that upon a liberal construction of the whole document it might fairly be held that the liberty extended to men connected with the pit.

"It appears that some of the engineers were not on strike during the period of the disputes in question, and were not reduced the 5 per cent. in their wages as the colliers were, but no exception was made in respect of these men either in the submission or the award. Both documents are quite general in their terms, and include all workmen connected with the collieries above mentioned. This being so, the award must, according to all principles of legal construction, be applied to all the colliers and workmen equally, as if they stood upon the same footing. The consequence is that they are all entitled to the advance of 12½ per cent. upon the wages paid in May, 1871, whatever may have been the amount of such wages. The consequent inequality in some cases which undoubtedly will prevail upon this construction, does not in my opinion afford any sufficient objection to its legal correctness.

"July 27, 1872."

"HENRY T. J. MACNAMARA, Umpire."

In the matter of the Steam Coal Collieries in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys and their Colliers and Workmen.

Case for the opinion of Mr. H. T. J. Macnamara.

In the award of the 13th February, 1872, is the following paragraph :—

"3. That any general rise or fall that shall hereafter take place in the rates of wages payable at the said ironworks, subsequently to the ten per cent. about to be made, shall be followed by a corresponding rise or fall in the rates paid by the said colliery proprietors; but that no rise or fall in the rate of wages payable at any particular iron works, independently of any general rise or fall, shall affect the wages payable by the said colliery proprietors."

A question has arisen, under the above paragraph, as to the meaning of the term, "general rise or fall," at ironworks. The colliery proprietors contend that it means a general rise or fall, including every class of men employed at ironworks.

"That in the opinion of this meeting an application should be made to the Executive Committee to ask their permission to serve the house-coal masters of Glamorganshire with one month's notice, they not having given the twopence per ton advance for the 1st of April, 1872."

The colliers, on the other hand, say it must be confined to a general rise or fall of wages to colliers and workmen working steam coal only at the ironworks.

Mr. Macnamara's attention is particularly requested to the agreement of reference and award, copies of which are sent herewith.

Both sides agree to be bound by your opinion, which is, therefore, desired as to which of the two contentions is correct.

"In the matter of the Steam Coal Collieries in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys and their Colliers and Workmen."

"Upon the point now submitted to me, I am of opinion that the contention of the colliers is the true one, and that the 'general rise or fall' mentioned in the third clause of the operative part of the award means 'general' in respect of all the workmen, whether engaged in the collieries or in the iron works. We should first consider the terms and object of the submission to arbitration, and we there find that the object was to settle disputes which had arisen between the proprietors of steam-collieries in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys and *the colliers and other workmen connected therewith*, and that in fixing the rates of wages the arbitrators and umpire were to be *governed* by the rates paid for similar descriptions of work at other collieries and works raising steam coal in Monmouthshire and South Wales.

"If we then turn to the award, we find that, by consent, certain terms were agreed to, but they were for the purpose of effecting the object of submission, although enlarged so as to meet future cases, and they should be construed, as far as possible, in conformity with the submission.

"Thus, 'the proprietors of the ironworks in the neighbouring districts of South Wales and Monmouthshire,' in the second clause of the operative part of the award, are in effect the same as the proprietors of 'other collieries and works raising steam coal in Monmouthshire and South Wales' mentioned in the submission, where the rates paid for similar descriptions of work to those in the steam coal collieries in the Aberdare and Rhondda Valleys were to govern, and the words 'general rise or fall' in the third clause are to be construed with reference to the second clause so interpreted.

"The submission and the evidence before the arbitrators were wholly confined to colliers and other workmen engaged in raising steam coal, and had nothing to do with furnace-men, puddlers, and other workmen engaged solely in the manufacture of iron, although iron works, whose proprietors raised their own coal, were considered so far as their collieries were concerned.

"The fact is that iron masters who also work collieries, carry on two distinct trades, and not the less so because they supply their own furnaces with their own coal. It never was intended either by the submission or the award that the wages of men in a distinct business and working under dissimilar circumstances should regulate the wages of the men engaged in raising steam coal, but it was intended that wages paid 'for a similar description of work' by iron masters, who were also coal masters, should govern the wages paid by those who were coal masters alone.

"Signed,

HENRY T. J. MACNAMARA."

"Temple, Sept 24th, 1872."

"That in the opinion of this meeting the advance given in March this year is not an advance on the improved state of trade in the district, but the advance given was the 10 per cent. taken off seven years last February, when the money market was high."

"That an invitation be given to the steam coal and ironworks steam coal masters to meet a deputation of men at the Royal Hotel, Cardiff, on April the 25th, 1872, to discuss the question of an advance of wages."

"That this meeting pledges itself to do all in its power to carry out the resolution of the St. Helen's Conference, to commence the eight hours system on the 1st day of July, 1872, hoping that the masters will make all preparations for carrying out the same."

"That the consideration of liberating themselves from the clause in the umpire's award, which provides that the arbitrators cannot move for an advance of wages without the ironworks having been first advanced, be postponed for the further consideration of the men."

"That this meeting pledges itself to support the ironworks colliers in agitating for an advance of wages, which is to them; and that the best thanks of this meeting be to their delegates for their faithful attendance at the delegates' meetings."

In the course of the proceedings a letter was read by Mr. Henry Thomas, from Mr. Halliday and Mr. Macdonald, in answer to a letter written to them by Mr. Thomas, asking their opinion as to whether it was understood in the umpire's award that the steam coal colliers were tied by the prices paid in the iron trade. *The opinion of both gentlemen was that they were bound, not by the iron trade, but by the prices paid by the ironmasters for cutting steam coal.*

All this showed that the men were desirous of departing from the conditions of the award; but, their leaders, Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Halliday, wisely counselled them to adhere to their agreement. A violation of it would have destroyed any sympathy the public had for their cause. The Union, impoverished as it was, could not possibly have been soon prepared for another battle, so that this agitation simply went "trying it on." The masters were equal to the occasion. They good humouredly agreed to meet the men on the 25th April, 1872; but they had only one straight course before them—and that was to stand to the agreement. Had they moved in the slightest degree, what guarantee would there have existed that either party with a "precedent" might not be continually seeking an alteration of basis, until all virtue in the award had passed away?

The following is the newspaper report of the proceedings:—

"On Thursday, April 25th, 1872, a number of delegates, representing the steam coal colliers of South Wales, had an interview with the members of the Steam Coal Owners'

Association at the Royal Hotel, Cardiff, upon the wages question. It was proposed by the men to make the conference general, *and to include the iron works and house coal collieries within the limits of the matters discussed.* But, as no representatives of the ironmasters were present, the coal owners declined to admit the delegates from iron works' collieries, and for the reason that the Coal Owners' Association could not deal with the house coal colliers, the delegates from these collieries were also informed that they would not be admitted, and that the interview would be limited to the delegates of the colliers working in the arbitration pits—that is the steam coal collieries which were the subject of the arbitration. The members of the Coal Owners' Association who were present were—Messrs.

John Nixon (the President), who occupied the chair.

G. Brown		Navigation,
David Davis and	}	Blaengwawr,
Lewis Davis		
J. O. Riches and	}	Ocean Steam Coal Company,
D. Davies		
E. Lewis,		Cwmbach,
Mordecai Jones,		Nantmelyn,
D. Griffiths and	}	Powell Duffryn,
G. Wilkinson,		
S. W. Kelly,		Pentre,
W. Thos. Lewis, C.E.,		Bute Collieries,
Alexander Dalziel, Secretary.		

The following were the delegates from the arbitration collieries, who were introduced by Mr. Henry Thomas, Aberdare Valley, and Mr. Lewis Morgan, Rhondda Valley; viz., Messrs.

D. Hitcham,	Lower Duffryn,
C. Powell,	Lletty Shenkin,
W. Edlicot,	Fforchaman,
W. Thomas,	Abercwmboy,
D. Morgan,	Lower Duffryn,
C. Emmerson,	Llwynypia,
John Simons,	Abergwawr,
W. Davies,	Cwmneol,
John Reilly,	High Duffryn,
J. Jones,	Ferndale,
E. Whitlock,	Bodringallt,
T. Francis,	Maindy
John Prosser,	Nantmelyn,
Philip Rees,	Blaengwawr,
Rees Jones,	Bwllfa,
John Jones,	Deep Duffryn,
T. Davies,	Cwmbach,
J. Andrews,	Park,
A. Jones,	Abergorki Level,
T. Williams,	Middle Duffryn
W. Hopkins,	Aberaman,
D. Davies,	Dinas,
P. Rees,	Navigation,
E. Lewis,	Cwmdare,
R. Sayer,	Abergorki.

"The Chairman having stated that the meeting was called at the request of the colliers.

"Mr. Henry Thomas stated the case in behalf of the delegates. He said that they had not come there with any intention to break in any way the agreement they had come to in the arbitration—(hear, hear). Many people thought that was their intention, and he saw it so stated in the papers; but that was not so, and they had no intention of trying to break their agreement—(hear, hear). But when the men saw the market price of coal, the present rate of wages gave rise to great dissatisfaction in the minds of the colliers. There was something also in respect to the agreement that created a great deal of uneasiness and misapprehension, there being a serious doubt as to whether the agreement provided that the rise of the steam coal colliers should be consequent upon a rise in the ironworks to the puddlers and ballers, or to the colliers in the ironworks collieries, or to all branches of ironwork labour.

"Mr. Nixon, interposing, said that the agreement specified that any "general rise or fall which shall hereafter take place" in the rate of wages paid in the ironworks, should be followed by a corresponding rise or fall in the rate of wages paid by the colliery proprietors, and that no rise or fall in the rates of wages payable at any particular ironworks, independent of a general rise or fall, should affect the wages payable by the Steam Coal Colliery proprietors. The rise or fall must *general*, and would not be affected by any advance made any separate ironworks' pit, or any separate branch of labour

"Mr. Thomas said, apart from the dissatisfaction felt at the sweeping effect of that word "general" as applied to ironworks, the feeling of the men was that according to the present prices of coal in the market, the rate of wages was low. Some persons said that the colliers had nothing to do with the market, but they believed they had to do with it. They had to do with it when the market was down, and they believed they ought to have to do with it when the market went up—(hear, hear, from the men). The general opinion of the men was that they ought to have an advance. They would admit that they could not claim an advance, but they would like to reason the matter over and do all they could to get what they wanted, calmly and quietly—(hear, hear). He believed the present price of coal would justify the masters in giving them an advance, and a good advance. He did not believe that the price of coal would stand where it was. He thought it would come down, and did not like to see it go up as it had gone up lately; but because it had gone up, it created a disturbance in the minds of the men, because their wages were not proportionate to the market price (hear, hear, from the men). There were some other things he wished to mention, and one of them was a matter that was causing a great deal of unpleasantness among the men in the Aberdare Valley, so much that it was as much as he could do to keep everything going on, and keep the men at work. That was as regarded the door boys. The colliers claimed that if a boy was required to go from the stall to the door, the colliery owners ought to pay him the

same amount as the colliers paid him, He suggested that they might arrange a scale of prices, which might remove this grievance. In a short time door boys would not be allowed to go under ground until they were twelve years of age, and from that date, inasmuch as the boy would have to be older, they would require more wages. Another thing with regard to door boys which they wanted altered, was that the door boys should not be sent with the hauliers. They wanted the door boys to be put to the doors by themselves (hear, hear). He had a meeting of the hauliers at Middle Duffryn pit a short time ago, and he told them that the door boys were doing as much work as they were (hear, hear), and that they ought to share the money (hear, hear, and laughter). Mr. Elliot said in London that he was prepared to put a clause in the Mines' Regulation Bill that would prevent this state of things (hear, hear). Another question he might mention was with regard to the short time movement. That was a question which created a great deal of disturbance between capital and labour. The colliers in this district were not much disturbed upon that; but it was a question that was to be dealt with in June. He did not know whether the colliery owners intended that day to put before the men anything upon that point; but if they did, the men were prepared to consider it. A resolution had been passed that it had to commence upon the 1st of July. They did not come there to discuss it; and if anything should arise upon it, they would be prepared to meet it, and to do all they could to establish a system which would not injure masters or men (hear, hear).

Mr. John Jones (Gwalch), delegate, thought the word "general" in the agreement too ambiguous, and the meaning ought to have been expressed much more clearly. The workmen did not believe that the rise and fall in the ironworks must be "general" and include all descriptions of labour, and their doubt caused uneasiness and dissatisfaction. They had known cases where there was an advance given to puddlers and ballers, and none to the ironworks colliers, and cases in which the ironworks colliers had been advanced, and not the puddlers and ballers, and both cases had been under the same proprietors.

Mr. Nixon said the rise or fall in *one* description of labour would not make it "general" in the sense of the agreement.

Mr. Mark Early, delegate, who reiterated the statement that the men did not want to withdraw from the agreement of the arbitration, suggested that the word "general" should be withdrawn, and another substituted which would base the rate of wages upon the state of trade.

Mr. John Prosser, delegate, thought that as the price of coal was now so high, the masters ought to make an advance so far as they thought it was fair (hear, hear). He would never be the one to ask anything which was unfair.

No other speakers on the part of the delegates desiring to say anything,

Mr. Nixon stated the colliery owners' case. Before doing so, however, he read the following letter, which had been addressed to Mr. Dalziel, the secretary, by Mr. George Elliot, M.P. :—

“Dear Sir,—I have received your circular of the 20th inst., inviting me to meet a deputation of the colliers, at Cardiff, on Thursday, 25th inst., the object being, as I understand, to take into consideration an application from the workmen for an advance in wages. If I am rightly informed on this point as I believe I am, I need scarcely add how much surprised and disappointed I feel that such a proceeding should have been attempted. Do the workmen seriously mean that they consider themselves no longer bound by the deliberate arrangements so recently entered into between them and the coal owners—arrangements which were carried out with the sanction and assistance of their own delegates, and circulated throughout the whole country, so that all who were interested might know that the disputes had been settled in a way which it was believed and intended should preclude any future misunderstanding? I fail to comprehend how, unless they have deliberately resolved to set aside all just ideas of right and wrong, they can make such a demand as they now seem to contemplate. I hope the workmen will consider the false step which they are now taking, and allow the matter to remain as it has been settled. I mentioned the subject to Lord Elcho last night, at which he expressed his utter astonishment, and stated that he did not believe the men capable of taking such

a step. I may mention that my attendance at the meeting is rendered utterly impossible, as I have to attend a Committee on that day on the Master and Servant (Wages) Bill; therefore I trust you will consider this a sufficient excuse for my absence.

"Yours very truly,

"G. ELLIOT,

"23, Great George Street, Westminster,
London, S.W., April 23rd, 1872."

Mr. Elliot (said Mr. Nixon), was one of the greatest employers of labour in this district, and those were his views upon the colliers' application; and so far as he (Mr. Nixon) could learn, they were identical with the views entertained generally by the colliery proprietors. Mr. Thomas and the other delegates had said that the price of the coal had risen. He admitted that it had risen, but that was simply an accident, and it might be down on the morrow. Although the prices might be in the masters' favour to-day, they might go down to-morrow, and it would be in the men's favour then, and would be next year. Let them recollect that though prices were temporarily high now, within the last two years there were collieries in the Aberdare district which had been worked without profit; but the wages had not been reduced because there were no profits accruing, and exceptionally high prices for a time hardly recouped the proprietors for the losses they had sustained before. But the fact was, that colliery owners could not pull down the wages. The

ironmasters were the greatest employers of labour in this district, and they governed the rates of wages. If the colliery owners were to pull down the wages, the ironmasters, who, as they depended upon the iron works for their profits, were not obliged to reduce, would go on working their collieries, and would draw the colliers from the steam coal collieries, which would be left with very few men to work them. If the colliers were to adopt the system of going up and down with the price of coal in Cardiff, it would be found impracticable. As he said before, to-day it was up, and to-morrow it was down. To-day a colliery proprietor had no vessels to send his coal away in, and he sold it at a low price in consequence. To-morrow, or next week, he had plenty of vessels, and because the demand was greater, he sold at a higher price. As to the house coal and coking coal, they could not be considered in the same light as steam coal. The rates of wages in this district did not depend upon the price of coal, because the great element, the preponderating element, in governing wages paid in steam coal collieries was the ironworks, and they would find, as a rule, ever since the introduction of steam coal, that the iron trade had governed the rates of wages. This was illustrated by the late strike. The colliers asked the owners to go up to the iron works' prices. They said they could not. Then the men struck for three months, after which there was arbitration, and it was agreed that the difference should be divided, and the rise or fall in the iron works, which was the only basis that was a sure and pract

basis. The steam coal owners could not pay higher wages than the ironmasters when they were competing in the same market, and with greater advantages than they (the steam coal owners) had. The item the ironmasters sent in was a very important item. If one or two shopkeepers in some town were to sell their goods at a low price, all the rest must do the same, or they would lose their custom. In like manner, if the ironmasters charged a low price for their coal, the other coal owners must do the same, or the coal could not be sold. He thought the matter was fully discussed at the arbitration. He was certain he was saying what the rest of the colliery proprietors could say from their own experience, that the only basis for wages which could be adopted in this district was the price that was paid by the ironmasters. If such a basis as that suggested by the colliers were adopted, there would be no end to disputes, and a fresh rate of wages would have to be adopted every month. It would necessarily vary from month to month, and from week to week, for it would depend entirely upon the stem of vessels. It was a continually varying quantity, the price that was paid for coal. He would remind them further, that all was not gold that glittered. One owner got a high price for his coal, and the news instantly spread that coal was selling at a high price. There were persons there in the room who had got prices in contracts which extended until June twelvemonth and every ton of coal they worked at a loss, but they could not alter it, they must supply their contract.

"Mr. Nixon said he should be very glad to enter into any arrangement with regard to door-boys, which was fair any equitable, and he thought his fellow-proprietors were of the same opinion. He wanted to avoid strikes as much as possible, and to do all that was fair and right; but he said most distinctly that they could not depart from that agreement, which had been arrived at after so much suffering, after so long a strike, and after calling in all the wisdom of both parties to settle it (hear, hear).

"Mr. Henry Thomas did not wish to go from it himself; but would like to see it altered with regard to the word 'general.' He did not think all the men from the ironworks were considered in 'general.' He did not reckon them as men; they were more like horses than men (hear, hear, and laughter). They did not work like men together, and did not try for what were their right as men would (laughter). Hitherto in the Aberdare valley they were always the colliers who agitated and obtained an advance, and the advance in the ironworks followed.

"Mr. J. O. Riches reminded Mr. Thomas that during the arbitration he stoutly contended that the advance in the collieries always followed advances in the ironworks.

"Mr. Lewis Davis asked what guarantee they had that the colliers would abide by any arrangement they might make now, or that they would not try to disturb it a fortnight hence.

"A long conversation followed with regard to the door boys, and it was ultimately agreed that a committee of the Coal Owners' Association should confer with an equal number of delegates, and devise a scheme which should meet the wishes of the colliers upon the matter.

"The interview, which was marked throughout with the greatest courtesy and friendliness of disposition, lasted upwards of two hours. At its close the men were entertained with lunch.

"The following were the Monmouthshire delegates who were in attendance, but were not admitted:—Messrs. Henry Mitchard, Cwmtillery; Thomas Harris, Abercarne and Risca; W. John, Tylacoch; Isaac Kernick, Cyfartha; D. Arthur, Glyncoth; T. W. Evans, Rhymney; Thomas Richards, Hirwain; Evan Hughes, New Tredegar; David Jones, Tynewydd; John Treasure, Ynysfaio; Benjamin Hicks, Werfa; and E. Jeremiah and James Thomas, Cwmaman.

Notwithstanding that the men met with a refusal on the part of the masters, to depart from the terms of the award, the agitation continued. The ironmasters' men did not demand an advance, but on Monday, the 6th May, 1872, the ironmasters of Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire voluntarily posted up notices, that on the 3rd June, 1872, their workmen should receive a further advance of 10 per cent.

To act strictly in accordance with the terms of the award, the associated masters met on the 9th May, 1872, and passed a resolution granting a similar concession to their workmen. The following notice was published duly at the top of each pit, and in the newspapers:—

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE ‘WESTERN MAIL.’

“SIR,—I am requested to inform you that, in conformity with the agreement entered into under the arbitration deed, dated 13th February, 1872, the associated masters are glad to inform their workmen that an advance of 10 per cent. in their wages will be given on and after the 3rd June next, the date from which a similar advance is to be made to the workmen of the ironworks of Monmouthshire and South Wales.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

“ALEX. DALZIEL, Secretary.

“South Wales Steam Coal Collieries’ Association.

“Cardiff, 9th May, 1872.”

It is not the province of this work to pursue the subject further as to the effect of the three successive advances within as many months. The higher *rate* of earnings followed by the invariably *shorter production* will tell their own tale. It is sufficient to say, that notwithstanding the advance in *rates* to the extent of 22½ per cent., the workmen are individually and collectively earning *less* money than they were before the advances were carried into effect. The colliers desire *less work*, and the policy is to restrict the output so as to keep the price of coal up. Eventually, this policy must react with terrible effect on the workmen.

CHAPTER XXI.

ONE pleasing feature of the arbitration was, the offer on the part of the masters to establish an "Insurance Fund" for the relief and support of those who might be left helpless and penniless by fatal accidents to the workmen.

The masters' proposition was, that if the colliers who were working under arbitration would forego the payment of the 2½ per cent., which was their due under the award, and would authorise investment of that sum in a proper fund, for the purpose above named, the masters on their part would supplement the total sum so invested, by a similar amount, and thus form the nucleus of an organization that would have for its object the mitigation of evils, which at intervals fall like clouds upon the mining population. The amounts paid by the associated masters for the 2½ per cent. awarded as additional wages, were,

				£	s.	d.
Aberdare.	{	Powell Duffryn Company	...	...	1,800	3 8
		Nixon, Taylor, and Cory	...	...	578	4 8
		D. Davis and Son	...	...	624	16 2
		Cwmbach	...	...	218	10 6
		Nantmelyn	...	...	223	11 2
		Bwlfa	...	...	216	19 4
Rhondda.	{	Lletty Shenkin	...	...	113	14 2
		Ocean	...	...	760	0 0
		Marquis of Bute	...	...	157	17 11
		Glamorgan	...	...	148	17 6
		Pentre	...	...	142	19 0
		Bodringallt	...	...	74	0 10
				£5,059	14	11

This sum supplemented by one of similar amount from the colliers, would have made an excellent commencement. The offer was made in good faith, and more in the interests of the colliers than that of the masters.

Had the latter been encouraged in their offer, it is probable that measures might have been taken to augment the funds, not only by further easy contributions on the part of masters and men, but by a special grant from the "Ferndale Explosion Relief Fund," which will in all probability leave a surplus of £5,000 at least.

Mr. John Morgan in an address presented to the Cardiff Chamber of Commerce, shewed that a contribution of 1d. per ton from the colliery proprietors,—a like sum from the landlords, and a 1d. per week from each workman, would provide ample funds for the payment of £150 to the survivors, in case of every single death from accidents in coal mines. When we consider that public aid is only sought when some great calamity sweeps off hundreds of poor fellows into eternity, and that in isolated cases when one, two, or three men only are killed, *no provision is made* for the survivors excepting by Sick Clubs; that 1,000 men per annum perish in coal mining annually, and the survivors are to frequently left to obtain *parish* relief, it is lamentable that *some* scheme cannot be adopted to remedy such a state of things.

It was noticeable at the time of the award, that Mr. H Thomas, the acknowledged leading delegate, was not very favorably impressed with the idea of an insurance fund.

From a philanthropical point of view, this suggestion must impress everyone favourably as to the views entertained by the masters, because it showed an earnest desire to make due provision for the helpless, the widows and the orphans of their workmen.

Taking a sentimental view of it, the reader can but applaud the generous offer made by the masters, who were prepared to support their opinions *by a donation of the sum which formed the entire amount the men had struck for.*

It was reasonable to expect that such an offer should have received, at least, a careful and unprejudiced consideration on the part of the colliers, but it did not.

Meetings of the men were held at Mountain Ash and other places for the purpose of ratifying the general conditions of the award. The workmen gave their unqualified adherence to its general terms, but, with coldness and disfavour they received the suggestion about the "Insurance Fund." Although several meetings were held to consider this and other subjects, there could be no mistaking the reported intentions of the colliers. They were determined not to accept the masters' offer.

"1stly. Because the proposed fund is to apply only to fatal accidents. 2ndly. That many pits are in an unsafe condition, many masters employing managers whose only qualification for the positions is that they can bring coal to the surface

with but little payment for what is commonly termed "dead work," and the manager who can work the cheapest is the man generally approved of by the masters, who care but little whether the colliery is perfectly safe or not; and they fear that the proposed fund will only encourage managers to be less careful, for that they will set less value on a man's life when they know his family will be provided for. As things are at present it is the interest of all ratepayers and parish authorities to watch over the laws which guard the collier's life. 3rdly. Men who at present work in those pits which are affected by the arbitration, and would, therefore, benefit by the fund, are liable to leave those pits at any time and go into others. If they got killed in those pits their families would not benefit at all by the fund, whereas those who came after them to what is termed the "arbitration pits," would reap a benefit towards which they had not contributed one farthing. 4thly. The men have generally clubs to meet accidents of all kinds, and they preferred trusting to the old custom, for they believed that the proposed fund would only demoralise agents connected with the various works.

"Mr. Henry Thomas wished it stated, through the columns of the 'Western Mail,' that it was not proposed to make it an *accidental* fund, as some have stated, but only to apply it to *fatal* accidents. There was a general belief expressed by various speakers that the masters saw in the immediate future

a Bill passing both Houses of Parliament to *make employers responsible for the support of the family of everyone killed underground, when it could be proved it was caused by their neglect or that of their agents.*

Their refusal was conveyed to the masters in rather ungracious terms, seeing that by the award a date had been fixed at which the payment of the 2½ per cent. had to be made.

“That the masters be requested to hand over to the men the 2½ per cent. due to them, and that a week’s time be allowed to the masters to do so.”

Public opinion was against the men, because it was considered that the provision for the unfortunate relatives left destitute from the effects of fatal accidents, was but the fore-runner of other prudent measures for the general improvement of the condition of the mining population. It has unfortunately been but too commonly the case, after explosions or other accidents in which great numbers of lives have been lost, that the suffering relatives have depended almost entirely upon public charity, for making that provision for the widow and the orphan, which every intelligent workman should have taken care himself to provide. In isolated cases where only two or three men are killed, the provision is simply next to nothing, the families having to depend for aid upon the paltry sums due to them from Benefit Societies and the like.



The masters being under no obligation, legally or morally, to make such provision, of course attempt none ; and it is only upon occasions, when a dreadful catastrophe sweeps off a great number of lives, that the masters pay voluntarily, a handsome contribution towards a general fund for the relief of the sufferers.

It will therefore be asked upon what grounds the colliers could fairly refuse to fall in with the masters' suggestion. The reply was short, but all sufficient,—that the masters were willing to give the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from their own pockets because they really *had* the money—the workmen refused because they *could not afford to spare the money*.

The masters offered to give from their abundance, the men by reason of their poverty refused to give anything. In justice it must be said, that the positions were not parallel.

The men were known to be deeply in debt, and those with large families, who had struggled through great difficulties during the strike, now found the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., trifling though it seemed to be, of great service in the payment of their little household debts. They preferred to make future payments to save funds for providing against accidents, rather than lose the *retrospective* $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which in *one lump sum* would come into their hands. It will be readily understood that a scheme such as that proposed by the masters, could only be carried into effect if both parties were in perfect accord as to its desirability.

Another motive, equally strong, and already hinted at, dictated the men's refusal. The Bill (which, for two sessions had been brought in, and withdrawn by the Right Honourable H. A. Bruce, Home Secretary) for the "Inspection and Regulation of Mines," was about to be re-introduced in an altered condition. The miners had agitated strongly, and not without effect, for the introduction of clauses which should afford them greater protection. There was a latent desire on the part of the colliers, that the colliery owners, and their managers, should be held liable to pay compensation to the survivors of those who had lost their lives in the working of coal, provided that the causes of accidents could be traced to negligence on the part of the coal owners or of their officers. They feared that the establishment of an insurance fund would cause the managers to be *careless about ventilation and other means of preserving life*. In all their discussions they ignored the *carelessness of the workmen*, by far the most fruitful source of fatal accidents. The men were not without influence. Lord Elcho, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Thomas Hughes, and other Members of the House, who support the views of working men, gave the colliers their aid, for the revision of clauses in that act. The colliers did not establish a good claim for the insertion of such a clause as to render the colliery owners and their managers liable. Had they done so, the profitable working of coal mines would have become exceedingly precarious.

The masters' offer for the establishment of an accidental fund not having been accepted, it is to be regretted that some other modified plan was not suggested by either side. Possibly at some

